Key Votes of the 87th Congress

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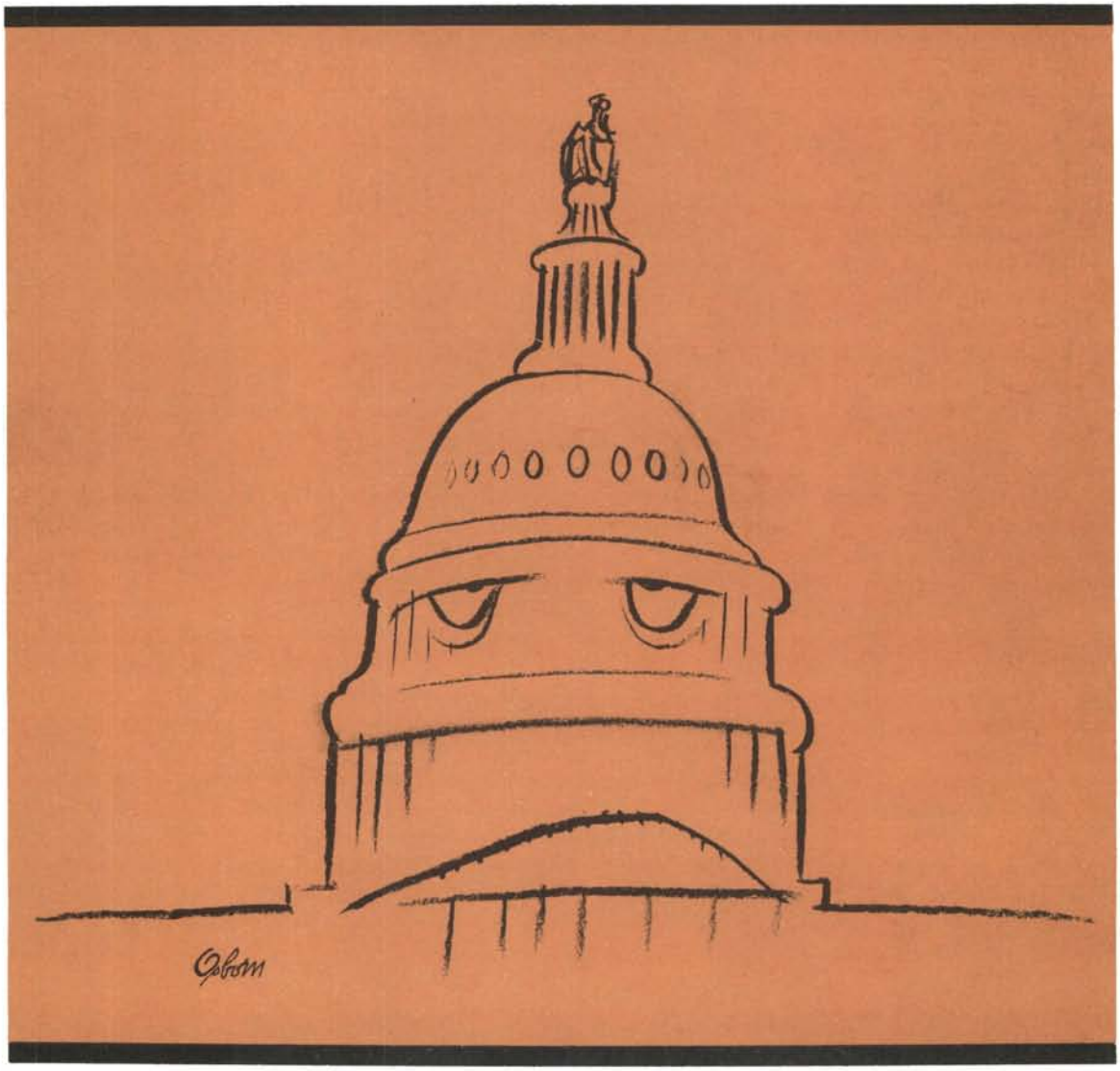

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Is It or Isn't It?

★ We constantly run into ethical problems we can't solve. Since a columnist's stock in trade is infallibility this is an occupational hazard. Down in Mississippi recently Negro student James Meredith (whom we more and more admire) asserted his rugged individualism by chiding both the NAACP and the US Army. He said the first was trying to monopolize him and he charged the second had segregated its own Negro troops even in the act of protecting him so as not to inflame Mississippians in the Ole Miss riot.

Was Meredith factually right? The Army issued a technical denial. NY *Herald-Tribune* correspondent Warren Rogers, Jr., who watched the riot, charged that this denial was "a U-2 type cover story," and that Secretary Vance's statement was "simply not true." Rogers was there; he saw it.

Meredith argued that the Army action panders to Gov. Barnett and lowers the morale of every Negro soldier: they can fight as Americans in Germany or Viet Nam, but they get KP duty in Mississippi. In a word, it's like hiding Jewish sailors when the US Navy gets shore leave in Egypt.

Well, that seemed pretty persuasive to us until we read the hot editorial in *The NY Times*, Oct. 12. The *Times* is a lot more liberal than it used to be and we think it has one of the best editorial pages in the country. In this case it praised Meredith's "quiet courage" but then let him have it; he had "marred" his record by his "strange statement" that Negro soldiers had been dishonored. The Meredith charge was "nonsensical," said the *Times*; it was "grossly unfair." The Army would have incited "further rioting and bloodshed by continuing to place Negro soldiers in direct contact with an inflamed mob."

How about it? In all probability lives were saved by the Army's temporary Jim Crow policy in Oxford, Miss. It isn't an easy problem. We don't object to tact that prevents bloodshed. We don't object to toy Confederate flags and we probably even wouldn't retch very badly at a KKK (night) shirt. But where do you draw the line? Is Mississippi in the US or isn't it? Are Negroes equal or aren't they? If we understand Meredith he was saying something rather noble, that he didn't want his life saved at the cost of dishonoring US soldiers or the American flag.

Paradise

★ America, we guess, is in for some walloping Treasury deficits in the next two years and they may dominate politics to 1964. America has just about reached the paradise Eisenhower wanted: price stability purchased by unemployment. Yes, inflation is licked. With 5.8 percent unemployed there's a nice reservoir of idle workers and social misery from which employers may draw. The trouble is that the idle workers are mostly unskilled and that the cost of stability is economic stagnation, a stock market panic (we guess the market is still 20 points too high), gathering slum problems and weakened muscle tone for the Cold War. Economists like the late Sumner Slichter predicted this.

There has rarely been such a gap between what academic economists taught and what the public thought, as now. Kennedy has so far declined to educate the country but soon, we guess, he will have to. He can't afford to let the economy go to pot much longer and everyone is looking to him to stimulate it (though they will denounce the consequent deficits, of course, too). The deficits will arise either from tax cuts or pump-priming. We don't mean small deficits either, like the prospective $6 billions this year; we mean deficits of the magnitude of Eisenhower's $12.4 billions in 1959. Such deficits will be worth it if they get the country back to full employment and to comfortable creeping inflation.

Professor Slichter never advocated inflation, he just said that we often must choose between evils and where the choice is between enough unemployment to halt the rise of labor costs (as now), direct controls of wages and prices, and creeping inflation "let us by all means have the creeping inflation. It is the least of three evils."

Two-Party South

★ Events are forcing the GOP into a position in the South intrinsically repudiating its leader, Lincoln, 100 years ago. We think a 2-party system is inching into being in Dixie with the slowly enfranchised Negroes voting Democratic and Republicans becoming respectable, conservative and segregationist. Fifty-eight GOP candidates are now running for the 106 House seats in the 11 states of the old Confederacy, and 10 GOP candidates for the 11 Senate seats up for re-election. In most cases GOP candidates are to the right of Democrats and they hope the Mississippi crisis has aided Republican chances. More and more Southern conservatives vote Republican in Presidential elections and they are beginning to switch at midterm, too.

We don't say this will all happen at once; we just say it seems inevitable. This year reapportionment is taking seats away from two of the most racist states, Mississippi and Alabama. Republicans hold seven House seats now in the South and they may well gain more next month. We welcome this because it means competition in one-party states. Texas is a good example. Democrats had a monopoly until disgusted liberals decided that if they had to have a conservative Senator it had better be a Republican, and helped elect John Tower, the sole Republican Senator from the South.

And the same thing may happen again in this year's Texas governorship race where there isn't much to choose between Jack Cox (R) and John Connally (D). The Democratic convention reaffirmed support for the anti-union right-to-work law: hardly something to bring liberals rushing to Connally's aid. Of course this spite voting for a man you dislike is a negative maneuver; it doesn't elect liberals. But if it goes on long enough maybe Democratic leaders will get the hint.

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Which Cuba Policy?

"It was that good man, President McKinley, of humble heart and gracious spirit, who liberated the sunny little island of Cuba 64 years ago. And now what do we see? That bearded dictator, Castro, and his Russian motor torpedo boats, with launching pads on them. And they have builded missile sites on the land. Oh, I know whereof I speak. I know because they told me so at the White House at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue."

– SEN. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN
Freeport, Illinois, October 17

Political campaigns are great foggers of great issues. In a clearer light – perhaps after November 6 – more of the voters may see that the question before the country is not whether some other regime in Cuba would be preferable to Castro's. The question is how much the US would have to pay in political capital and lives to assure Castro's downfall. Senator Dirksen seems to think intervention would be as cheap as it was 64 years ago. Senator Capehart seems to think the question itself is unimportant, that nothing matters but moving in and throwing "that bearded dictator" out, and soon.

What do such men assume? They assume that a Communist base in the Caribbean is a substantial military threat to our security and to the security of the other American states, and that the Russians when confronted with a *fait accompli* would back off, choosing not to provoke the US in the Caribbean or elsewhere merely because we had done what they did in Hungary. These are portentous assumptions and merit much closer examination than they are being given by the partisans of direct action.

There is another approach to Cuba, one that has not been tested. It too has its assumptions. The first is that little can be done now about Castro (though much can and should be done to strengthen non-Communist Latin America). The second is that "victory" in Cuba through direct US intervention would not be worth riling the friends of the US in Europe, Asia and Africa; further alienating our friends and potential friends in every large Latin American country; and risking a military confrontation with the Russians either in the Caribbean or in some other danger zone closer to the Soviet Union. This is essentially a policy of studied indifference. If it were followed, the US would choose not to make a monster out of a molehill, unless and until, as the President made plain on September 13, "Cuba were to

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endanger or interfere with our security . . . including our base at Guantanamo, our passage to the Panama Canal, our missile and space activities at Cape Canaveral or the lives of American citizens in this country, or if Cuba should ever attempt to export its aggressive purposes by force or the threat of force against any nation in this hemisphere or become an offensive military base of significant capacity for the Soviet Union." If Cuba were now to engage in provocative adventures, a hands-off policy would in this view not be tenable.

These two general approaches to what should be done about Cuba are distinct, and they are contradictory. The Administration has chosen neither. The result is ambiguity. Because a clear choice has not been made or expressed by the White House, it has left itself open to that embarrassing question, so dear to Democrats in the Eisenhower years: "Who's in charge?" This is not to say that the Administration has done nothing. It is to say that it has done a little of this and a little of that. It neither ignores Castro, nor disposes of him. It builds him up, and doesn't knock him down. It concocts vague, censorious statements for approval by the Organization of American States. It launches ineffective appeals to private shipowners of the world. There is, therefore, a certain accuracy in the Republican National Committee's use of the word "irresolution" to describe present policy.

To illustrate, the government's initial reply to British inquiries following the machine gun raid on a British ship by a Cuban refugee outfit called "Alpha 66" satisfied no one, though it confused many. Washington officials merely denied that the US condones such marauding. On the basic matter of responsibility, it airily warned of the United States' inability to prevent any illicit forays against Cuba mounted from American territory – a plea which, taken at face value, would warrant investigation into what has been done with all the money spent on the Navy, the Coast Guard, and the FBI. Subsequently, an effort was made to retrieve the blunder. Spokesmen for "Alpha 66" (had they heard from higher headquarters?) changed their story of using Puerto Rico as a base for attacks on Cuba-bound ships. The US government's disavowal of the raid was thereby strengthened, and it was even then suggested that the US intends to prevent such harassments in the future. But no one could know for certain.

Yet one ought to know whether or not this government is committed to encouraging or arming an assault on another country. One ought to know also the degree to which exile politics influence decisions that properly belong to officials in Washington. We have learned that surreptitious indulgence and support for niggling harassments by exiles could create incidents that might well wrest control of US policy from its masters.

This is an old problem. One hundred and eleven years ago, zealous exiles, aided by aroused Americans, were planning forays from American soil against a tyranny in Cuba. President Fillmore's Administration, though sympathetic to insurrection, upheld its sovereign responsibilities. It prevented illicit sorties where it could, and it prosecuted those who staged them. Juries balked at convicting the raiders but at least the US government left no doubt about what its policies were and who was in control. If there is doubt on that score today, it is not entirely the fault of "rash and irresponsible" Republicans.

India Counterattacks

Two powerful geographical facts explain why Prime Minister Nehru felt compelled last week to give the counterattack order that he has withheld in the face of three years of calculated Chinese insults. The choice of the Thagla Pass for the largest concentration of Chinese force to date on the Indian frontier would have posed an unavoidable challenge if only because the Pass is situated in the super-sensitive Northeast Frontier Agency. In contrast to the isolation of the Ladakh border fastnesses in the Northwest where earlier Chinese incursions have been centered, the Thagla Pass faces directly onto the populous Ganges and Brahmaputra plains and is situated at a strategic juncture of the borders of India, Bhutan and Chinese-held Tibet. The commitment of India to defend its protectorates of Bhutan and neighboring Sikkim against aggression and to come to the aid of Nepal if called upon would have lost all credibility if New Delhi had continued to shirk a frontal engagement with Peking.

But a less obvious and perhaps even more critical element in Indian calculations is to be found in the proximity of the new Chinese offensive to East Pakistan. Little more than 165 air miles of Indian territory separate the northern border of Pakistan's volatile eastern province from the Chinese; and to Indians who believe that Pakistan's present border negotiations with China are motivated by a desire to embarrass New Delhi, this is far too close for comfort. Although the China-Pakistan negotiations which opened in Peking on October 13 are nominally for the limited purpose of demarcating the border of Pakistan-held western Kashmir and China's Sinkiang province, there have been vague references by officials of both countries to the possibility of a subsequent treaty of friendship. Many Indians are haunted by the specter of a China-Pakistan squeeze play in the corridor of Indian territory running between East Pakistan and the Himalayan frontier. India and Pakistan continue to treat each other as enemy number one and armed clashes such as the recent incidents along the Tripura-East Pakistan border are

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the rule rather than the exception in relations between the two countries.

In both Chinese and Pakistani official comment the Indians are depicted as having deliberately emphasized the border conflict to win support for aid in the US Congress. Peking insists that India continually redefines its McMahon Line frontier to suit changing political whims. But the Indians point out that it is the Chinese who refused to exchange large-scale maps during the 1960 border talks and cite Chinese publications showing 32,500 square miles of the Northeast Frontier Agency as Chinese territory. The maps agreed to by the Chinese in 1960 were on a scale of one inch to 80 miles and left unresolved whether the boundary ran along the Thagla Ridge or in the valley below.

Even in Indian accounts, the Chinese encroachment at the Thagla Pass involves something less than three miles of rocky mountainside. The 2,000-odd Chinese soldiers reportedly encamped there are equipped with heavy mortars and medium machine guns not presently matched by the Indians and can call on reinforcements from a major military base in nearby southeastern Tibet. While the Chinese base at Tsona Dong is on high ground and easily accessible from the Pass, the nearest Indian supply depot is cut off from the scene of battle by 180 miles of mule track. Indian forces are said to control the makeshift bridges spanning a small river which the Chinese would have to cross to make further progress. To push them back up to the Pass, however, would be quite literally an uphill fight, and for this reason a clear-cut decision may not materialize in the short time remaining before Himalayan snows immobilize both armies.

They'd Rather Be Right

The primary responsibility of a Congressman is the practical one of passing as much "good" legislation and defeating as much "bad" legislation as possible. He is therefore selective in the fights he picks. He asks himself "what good it will do."

But by dint of his visibility a Congressman is an educator as well as a man of affairs. As such, he may occasionally do what's right even though it will stamp him as an impractical fellow. He may do it because some inner compulsion commands, or because he believes that if there is no dissenting minority to oppose the fashion of the moment, there may eventually be no such minority outside Congress either. In that case, every excess of the majority becomes permanent and every lost cause stays lost.

Four votes, all in the House and all in 1961, are particularly indicative of readiness to go beyond the requirements of "practicality." (1) On March 1, 1961,

Footnotes *to the* Week

TRADE POLICY planners in the Administration are searching for counter-measures to allay growing fears of the Common Market as a "white man's club." Soviet exploitation of anti-Market sentiment has already accelerated the US shift to the side of Belgium as against France and Germany in the debate on terms to be extended to Asian, African and Latin American countries. In a statement to the UN Economic Committee, US representative Philip Klutznick pointedly observed that the new Trade Expansion Act gives the President power not only to bargain down Common Market tariffs on US goods but "to arrange for the mutual reduction of barriers to the importation of the primary commodities of the developing countries." The US favors an international conference to deal with commodity problems. Raw materials prices have gone down five percent in the past ten years while industrial goods have gone up 24 percent. —— BALANCE OF TRADE *figures for the first eight months of the year point to a probable $500 billion drop from the 1961 US export surplus. Exports were running at a rate of $20.913 billion at the end of August. This compares with an import figure expected officially to reach $16.210 billion for the year – a jump from 1961 imports totaling $14.72 billion. The "clear" or dollar-earning surplus estimate of $500 billion takes into account fluctuating, aid-financed exports.* —— CONFLICT OF INTEREST legislation enacted by Congress broadens existing century-old statutes by including activities of present and former government employees in connection with administrative proceedings. The new measure was prompted by the President's April, 1961, message underscoring the chaotic state of conflict of interest laws. But members of Congress and retired military men are still uncovered by the statute. —— HARRY BYRD *astonished certain guests at his annual picnic when he jumped on the back of an old farm wagon and asked the assemblage to join him in a moment of spiritual contemplation. After repeating the New York Regents' prayer, the Virginia Senator announced his belief that the Supreme Court had decreed this action unconstitutional in the recent prayer case. He added that if he was in violation of the Constitution "I am at least in good company."* —— DEFENSE SPENDING is expected to increase despite hopeful New Frontier talk of a leveling out at the present $50 billion. Informed forecasts now put next year's total at about $52 billion. Major boosts will come not on missiles but on re-equipping the services for conventional (non-nuclear) warfare, the purchase of tactical aircraft, helicopters and other low-slow aircraft to provide "air mobility" for Army ground units, and the replacement of obsolescent Navy ships.

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the House voted 412-6 to appropriate $331,000 to continue the operations of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The appropriation was opposed by Representatives Ashley (D, Ohio), Green (D, Ore.), Kastenmeier (D, Wis.), O'Hara (D, Ill.), Roosevelt (D, Calif.) and Ryan (D, N.Y.). (2) On August 21, 1961, after four planes had been hijacked in the air and three of the four taken to Cuba, the House voted 374-5 to make aerial hijacking a federal offense punishable by death. The death penalty was opposed by Representatives Diggs (D, Mich.), Kastenmeier (D, Wis.), Libonati (D, Ill.), Royce (D, Wis.) and Ryan (D, N. Y.). (3) On August 31, 1961, the House voted 395-0 expressing its opposition to seating Red China in the UN. Representatives Ryan (D. N.Y.) and Ashley (D, Ohio) abstained. (4) On September 18, 1961, the House voted 369-2 for a bill which would have authorized the postmaster to send notices to recipients of Communist propaganda, "alerting" them to their danger. Opposed were Representatives Ryan (D, N.Y.) and Lindsay (R, N.Y.).

Wiley Fumbles

It is beginning to look as if Wisconsin's Gaylord Nelson will have the double distinction of unseating a veteran Republican Senator (Alexander Wiley) and disproving the adage that governors have nowhere to go but down. Nelson, like most of his contemporaries in state houses, inherited staggering fiscal problems when elected in 1958. Unlike others, he survived a re-election try and became the only two-term Democratic chief executive in more than 70 years of Wisconsin history.

A Lou Harris poll taken in late August, before the campaign got rolling, showed 5 percent of the voters undecided in the Nelson-Wiley race, with the rest favoring Wiley a scant 48 to 47 percent. Since then a John Birch Society smear on a Republican moderate has cut a deep gash into Republican ranks. And to top things off, Wisconsin Medical Society leaders were approached by Wiley aides to raise $50,000 in gratitude for Wiley's vote against the Anderson-Javits bill. Among the 400,000 Wisconsin voters over 65, Nelson pins the blame on Wiley for the medicare defeat, arguing that Sen. Carl Hayden promised a tie vote if Wiley or anybody else switched sides. Worse still, six months earlier Wiley had mailed more than 2,000 form letters promising to support Social Security financing of health insurance. Reporters have dogged Wiley with copies of these letters with his signature on them.

In past campaigns, the 78-year-old Wiley successfully wooed middle-of-the-road support. He bucked his party's powerful and rich right-wing faction. A smooth, even enlightened, staff kept the home folks happy with small favors and generous use of the frank. But this year, the genial Rotarian from Chippewa Falls seems suddenly to have become the crusty old man who snorts out profanities and brands his opponent "a nitwit." To reporters who quizzed him closely about his medicare vote, Wiley stammered: "You keep your damned nose out of my business, and I'll keep mine out of yours." Wisconsin voters gasp at Wiley's bumbling and might yet give Nelson the victory. The only obstacles are Democratic apathy and poor registration in populous, pro-Democratic Milwaukee where Nelson must get one-third of his votes.

QUADROS' DEFEAT IN BRAZIL COMES AS A SURPRISE

The Moderate Right Triumphs

Rio de Janeiro

When Fidel Castro, in 1960, told *O Globo* (Rio de Janeiro) that "elections in Latin America are a myth," he provoked widespread indignation in the Latin American press. Perhaps he was not altogether wrong. Recent events have shown, in Peru, Argentina and El Salvador, how the military annul democratically-held elections when the results don't please them. In Brazil, however, the army did refrain from interfering on October 7, when more than 18 million Brazilians chose 45 new Senators, 409 deputies and 11 governors. Since Brazilian law bars illiterates from voting, about 60 percent of the population was unable to express its will at the polls. Still, aside from minor disturbances in Rio, Nichteroi and in the Northeast, the elections took place in a calm and orderly fashion, though most of the liberal and conservative papers in Rio and Sao Paulo took umbrage at the apparent expenditure of US and Soviet funds in support of right-wing and left-wing candidates who, it was presumed, could not otherwise have conducted such well-heeled campaigns.

Two main losers and three main winners came as a surprise. Janio Quadros, running for governor of Sao

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Paulo against his old rival Adhemar de Barros, was defeated. This downfall, coming after his widely criticized resignation from the Presidency of the Republic last year, may well mean the end of Quadros' political career, unless he follows a revolutionary path.

The winner, Adhemar de Barros, former governor and mayor of Sao Paulo, is the man who gained fame for his statement: "They say that I steal. It is true. I steal. But also, I achieve." The four years of his governorship of Sao Paulo were the most corrupt in the history of the State. They were years of fantastic graft, waste of public funds, sensational scandals with, finally, Adhemar de Barros leaving the country and seeking refuge in Paraguay. Later, in typically Brazilian fashion, things were "patched up" (*da-se jeito*). It can hardly be considered a coincidence that ex-President Juscelino Kubitschek came to Sao Paulo and wholeheartedly supported Adhemar de Barros. During the five years of his Presidency, the "builder of Brasilia" followed, on a national level, the same methods Adhemar de Barros had pursued on a state level. The point was made by the *Diario de Noticias* on October 5: "Kubitschek and Barros believe in the same philosophy, the so-called 'I steal but I achieve' philosophy." At any rate, Juscelino Kubitschek, though not a candidate on October 7, emerges as the principal victor. His Social Democratic Party (PSD), confirmed its majority and triumphed all over the country. Kubitschek, as he has stated many times himself, hopes to be re-elected President in 1965.

The downfall of Janio Quadros has eliminated Kubitschek's principal potential rival for the Presidency in 1965. His other possible opponent, governor Carlos Lacerda, of Rio de Janeiro, though not himself running for office in the recent elections, has also suffered a serious setback. His candidate for the vice governorship of Rio was badly defeated, as were most of Lacerda's candidates in Rio. Lacerda's arch enemy, Lionel Brizzola, until recently Governor of the State of Rio Grande, was elected as federal deputy in Lacerda's home district. Brizzola, who is President Goulart's brother-in-law, came into the news after he nationalized a US-owned telephone company, distributed privately-owned land to the peasants and started making a series of violently anti-US, pro-Cuban speeches all over Brazil. More recently, Brizzola has been quoted as saying, "The time for peaceful solutions is gone."

Both the defeat of Quadros (a middle-of-the-road, Alliance for Progress man) and of Lacerda (who has been called the "Brazilian McCarthy") are interpreted here as a setback for the US. In fact, the results show a victory, almost everywhere of the moderate right forces. In Recife, Miguel Arrais, who considered himself "to the left of the Communists," was defeated by a conservative, backed by important sugar interests and by the church. In the States of Sergipe, Bahia, Ceara and Amazonas, left-wing candidates for governorships went down to defeat. Though Brizzola was elected a federal deputy, his candidate for the governorship of Rio Grande was beaten by the strongly conservative Ildo Menegetti. The new Brazilian Senate will be much like its predecessor. It will be led by a solid majority of reactionary landowners who will oppose, as they have in the past, any reforms. Parliament as a whole may be slightly more sympathetic to President Goulart than the previous one, but only slightly.

There seems now to be only two political alternatives for Brazil: either an alliance between the moderate right, Social Democrats (PSD) and the extreme right, National Democratic Union (UDN) against any reforms – the pattern of the last few years; or, a renewing of the former alliance (as in the Vargas days) between the PSD and the Brazilian Labor Party, the PTB. Both Kubitschek and Goulart are known to favor the latter alternative. But it remains to be seen whether the PTB's radical wing, led by the flamboyant Brizzola, will allow such a coalition.

Those who are obsessed with the danger of Castroism may feel reassured by the conservative electoral trend in Brazil. They have no reason for comfort. This victory promises no alleviation of the illiteracy, the hunger, the plain old misery that plague the country. That a man like Adhemar de Barros could become governor of the wealthiest state (Sao Paulo's budget rivals the federal budget) and that the way should now be open for Kubitschek's return to the Presidency promise only new and dangerous adventures at a time when the country needs an austere and efficient administration. Brazil's foreign debt has reached nearly $2 billion (five times the amount of money in circulation in Brazil). Brazil owes more than $45 million to its oil suppliers alone. The foreign trade deficit, between January 1 and October 1, 1962, was $35 million. Several unions have recently demanded a 100 percent raise in wages and received 60 percent. The *Banco do Brazil* has stopped all foreign remittances. One cannot at this stage dismiss the possibility of a revolutionary explosion in the not-too-distant future.

Meanwhile, President Goulart has appointed to his cabinet Celso Furtado, one of the country's ablest economists and the man who has been in charge of the Development Agency for the Northeast. Furtado has been asked to draw up a plan for social and economic recovery. Also, the Minister of Finance has been urged by Goulart to step up the fight against galloping inflation. And then there is the US. President Kennedy's visit to Brazil is still scheduled for November 12, and Brazilians have high hopes that his coming will coincide with an allocation of $700 million in Alliance for Progress funds.

Louis Wiznitzer

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West Europe–Hard Choices Ahead

Is British Labour Dedicated to Defeat?

by Raymond Aron

Last month, at the end of a series of articles devoted to the relations between the Six and the rest of the world, in particular Great Britain, I concluded that, in spite of the difficulty of the negotiations, it remained likely that the British would join the Common Market. I would be tempted to say today that the likelihood of Britain's joining is no less strong despite the Conference of the Commonwealth Ministers and the openly hostile position taken by Hugh Gaitskell and the Labour Party. But this diagnosis is paradoxical and, in any case, contradicts appearances.

When Mr. Macmillan met last month with his Commonwealth colleagues he found himself in the situation that he had undoubtedly hoped for. He was able to give a broad outline of the possible agreement with the Six, pointing to the adjournment of the Brussels negotiations as proof of his determination to defend vigorously the interests of the Commonwealth. He was in a position to go on with the task of negotiating for new concessions which, as Mr. Heath would say, were required on the part of the Common Market countries (if they sincerely wanted Britain to join) by the hesitations of old and new members of the Commonwealth.

Some people across the Channel reproach the Conservative Government with not sufficiently dissimulating its desire or, to put it better, its will to join the Common Market. But this reproach seems to me to be unfounded. No one in Brussels, Paris or Bonn is unaware that the Macmillan group will accept whatever conditions are finally laid down by the Six, provided they are fair. The position of the British negotiator is not thereby weakened, for he is dealing with those of the Six who in fact want Great Britain to join, and the concessions he is requesting are those without which British Commonwealth resistance to membership would become insurmountable. Moreover, each of the participants at the Brussels Conference is committed to respecting the unwritten rules of honest bargaining. From time to time my friends in London accuse French diplomats of overplaying their strong cards. But the Marketeers on the *Economist*, who a few weeks ago called these French diplomats Shylocks, do not hesitate to write, when they have to deal with the objections of their compatriots, that "the terms offered at Brussels are a little better for the white Commonwealth countries and much better for the black Commonwealth countries than anyone dared hope for a year ago."

Mr. Macmillan reminded the assembled Commonwealth Ministers last month that after all decolonization also meant independence for the former Colonial Power, *i.e*, Britain. Thanks to the impassioned protests of the Australians and the Canadians, the Indians and the Africans, Mr. Heath will have a few supplementary arguments at his disposal when talking to the Six. Although these arguments will not modify appreciably the terms of an agreement that the London government is obviously resolved to accept, it is not out of the question that certain details will be clarified or altered.

Mr. Gaitskell's declarations on television and then at the Labour Party conference in Brighton further strengthen, it seems to me, both the intent and the position of Mr. Macmillan. To be sure, it is deplorable for Britain and for Europe that one of the two great political parties should be hostile to a historic decision involving a commitment of the entire nation. According to the opinion surveys, a majority of the English say that they are opposed to entering the Common Market. Thus it might be thought that the Conservative Government is in danger of being repudiated by the country. In fact, this risk seems to me smaller than it appears on the surface.

The Labour Party has made five demands, two of which it knows cannot be met: no British government, whether Conservative or Labour, can obtain further concessions than it has already obtained with regard either to "the maintenance of the system of imperial preferential tariffs until such time as the general agreements reached at Brussels are implemented in such a way as to provide for well-defined guaranties for Commonwealth exports," or with regard to the indispensable safeguards for British agriculture. If the British Government were to demand reconsideration of these two fundamental questions, the negotiations would break down. The Conservative Government will not do this, and the Labour Party – to the consternation of many of its friends – has in all probability condemned itself to opposing Britain's entry into the Common Market.

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A year ago Mr. Gaitskell, whose integrity and talent I admire, confided to me his hope of withdrawing the question of Europe from party quarrels. At the time he was cautious but favorable toward the Common Market. What arguments or influences have determined his final negative decision? Perhaps for the sake of party unity, perhaps out of loyalty to a tradition, Mr. Gaitskell is now giving Mr. Macmillan new hope of bringing his career to a close not only with the accomplishment of a great task but with an electoral victory.

The Liberal Party, which has made a spectacular comeback, has approved Mr. Macmillan's European Policy with enthusiasm. Being the only one of the three parties to wage an anti-Europe campaign, the Labour Party would have less chance of winning the next elections than in any other combination of circumstances. But this is not all. There is nothing to oblige Mr. Macmillan to call for new elections in less than another two years. By then the treaty with the European Community may already be signed and even approved by the House of Commons. A veritable uprising of public opinion would be necessary in order for the country to disavow Her Majesty's government and give the Opposition the mandate to repudiate a signed agreement. Yet it is hard to see how Labour can gain anything by attacking the Market in the next campaign unless it urges British withdrawal. Fortunately neither Mr. Gaitskell nor his party is yet committed to withdrawal should they come to power.

At the Labour Party Conference Mr. Gaitskell won a victory for his negative policy toward the Common Market. But it is a precarious one since it draws him closer to his adversaries on the Left and estranges him from several of his friends on the Right. By contrast, Mr. Macmillan had no serious trouble fending off his adversaries on the Right at the recent Conservative Conference, and imposing a European policy which will appeal to the Center. If, like human beings, political parties ultimately "get what they ask for," might we not conclude that the Labour Party prefers the joy of opposition to the bitter pill of power, while the Conservative Party does not?

Has the Time Come To Drop Adenauer?

by Terence Prittie

Bonn

The *Frankfurter Rundschau* is a liberal West German newspaper, with nothing revolutionary about it. On September 1 it published a leading article which was initially considered amazing, but which blazed a trail for the rest of the normally unimaginative, not overinquisitive West German press. The article was a direct attack on Konrad Adenauer. It asked for his retirement, otherwise his removal from office. The Chancellor, the writer suggested, had barely the wit to understand that he was not wanted any more and so should be removed by the vote of the *Bundestag*.

Until then surprisingly little had been written about the Chancellor's faults of omission during the last year. In retrospect it has been one of the strangest years in the recent history of any Western-type democracy. During it, Dr. Adenauer, with his 13-year record of authoritarian control of both Cabinet and Government, has done next to nothing. He has been ill twice – no slur on a man of 86. He has had to take three holidays in Northern Italy. The Social Democrats now say he is "a tired old man" who should retire to his rose garden. The Chancellor has replied by announcing he will go to Washington immediately after the US Congressional elections to confer with President Kennedy.

But no meeting with Mr. Kennedy can obscure the fact that the last year has produced little legislation and no policy in West Germany. It has been mainly taken up with discussion of the vexed question of who should eventually succeed Adenauer, with quarrels between the Christian Democratic and Free Democratic partners in the government coalition, and with a Franco-German exchange of visits by heads of governments. This exchange touched deep chords of emotion in Germany but created little more than a feeling of smug satisfaction in France. The exchange was an unequal one: de Gaulle came, saw and conquered in Western Germany, whereas Adenauer was generously received in France as de Gaulle's protégé. The main features of the year were the price-wage spiral which afflicted the West German economy, and a vacuum in the field of foreign policy which left Germans waiting for a new Berlin crisis but utterly unable to think out any way of averting it. It is thus not surprising that a great many Germans have asked whether it is not time for Adenauer to go.

Adenauer's hand may not any longer be on the tiller,

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but before it became too feeble he lashed the tiller firmly down and set the ship of state on the course which he had chosen. He banked on nobody inside his own party being prepared to challenge him, and on nobody outside it having a chance of unseating him. He allowed the word to go round that he might consider a modification of his foreign policy previously based on belief in static "firmness" in face of Communist pressure and on supreme unreadiness to produce any new thinking on the German and Berlin problems. But on October 9, he killed stone-dead all hope that he would back the efforts of the Kennedy Administration to capture the diplomatic initiative in Europe. He told the *Bundestag* bluntly that no Western initiative had any chance of success, so long as the Soviet Union wanted to keep Germany divided and "neutralize" the Federal Republic.

The course which Adenauer has set is that of fulfilling the West German commitment to NATO, supporting the almost unattainable aim of general, controlled disarmament, and seconding de Gaulle's now undisguised attempt to make Western Europe into a "third force" which would become increasingly independent. De Gaulle evidently would eventually like to see this European Third Force make its own terms with the Soviet Union. It is not clear what Adenauer sees beyond the next bend in the road.

West German dependence in foreign policy on France – and, incidentally, on a France which has not the slightest interest in German reunification and a genuine settlement of the German question – is arousing ever-increasing opposition to Adenauer at home. Naturally, the Social Democrats oppose him; their candidate for the Chancellorship, Willy Brandt, has begun insisting on a Western diplomatic initiative in the Cold War. And the Social Democrats are winning increasing support in the country; in two Land elections, in Schleswig-Holstein and North Rhine Westphalia, they collected 40 percent and 43 percent of the votes this summer. This makes them into serious contenders for power at the Federal elections. Moreover, Adenauer's Free Democratic partners are calling for diplomatic action, preferably in the form of a direct approach to the Soviet Union. And although there is no organized opposition to Adenauer inside the Christian Democratic Party, there is a drawing-together of his lieutenants, Erhard, Schroeder and Dufhues.

Erhard, still his "natural" successor, can only be exasperated by the lack of support which Adenauer has given him in his efforts to discourage Trade Union wage claims. Schroeder is the dark horse in the Chancellorship stakes. He favors a bold, pragmatic approach to foreign policy and he has an instinctive sympathy for American and British reasoning. Dufhues, the enigmatic third man of the group, wants to build up the Christian Democratic Party as a real democratic entity, rather than a body of voters at Adenauer's beck and call. There is nothing "anti-Adenauer" about his aim; but he is simply aware that Adenauer is a very old man and that Christian Democracy must plan for the future.

It is not simply that the Chancellor is 86. All invention and imagination seem to have deserted him. His statement of government policy on October 9 was deplorable. Not one single new thought emerged from a text on which he had been working for weeks past. Whole sentences of that text were verbatim quotations from previous statements which he had made. It is fair enough to use a telling phrase twice, but it is no use trotting out, time after time, the same dull, unevocative thoughts in the same, dull, drab words. This – for Adenauer – is new. To me it is the danger-signal that his mental powers are on the wane.

In 1890 the English weekly *Punch* published one of the most famous cartoons of all time. It was called "Dropping the Pilot" and it depicted the discarding of Bismarck by Kaiser William II. Bismarck had governed Germany for 20 years, and Prussia for 8 years before that. But he was only 47 years old in 1862, and 75 when the most disastrous of all German rulers fired him. Adenauer has governed, and ruled, for 13 years beginning at almost the same age that Bismarck left off. It is a remarkable and commendable performance, and there is no Kaiser William to bring his term of office to an end. He would do better to make a dignified exit himself, at the right moment. The alternative is a state of mounting internal crisis in Western Germany, forcing on the *Bundestag* the unwelcome decision whether or not to bring a magnificent political career to an abrupt end.

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Will de Gaulle Get What He Wants?

by Jean Daniel

Paris

The referendum which is to take place in France on October 28 will automatically place the French people in the role of arbiters in the current conflict between the Chief Executive and the Parliament. The conflict itself might seem to lack dramatic stature, since it is concerned only with the procedure for electing General de Gaulle's successor. Nevertheless, it is provoking one of the most serious crises ever to threaten the Fifth Republic.

The truth is that the government which General de Gaulle appointed was not ousted by Parliament on October 5 over the issue which will be laid before the people on October 28: "Do you or do you not want the President of the Republic to be elected by popular vote?" It was unseated because Parliament was convinced that the Chief of State had violated the Constitution. In what way? In that General de Gaulle did not deem it necessary to submit to Parliament the question of a Constitutional amendment on Presidential elections. And so, when the referendum is held, the French people will be required to take a stand in favor of de Gaulle, or else to line up on the side of the entire French political complex, including the two Assemblies, the Constitutional Council, the Council of State, all except one of the political parties, and the influential political figures of the day.

It is generally believed that de Gaulle, and no one else, chose to bring this crisis to a head at this time. Nor was his hand forced by circumstance. He could have acted differently; he could have waited. Instead, he deliberately decided to stake everything on this move to induce a show-down and to challenge the political parties.

The maneuver was so unexpected that even de Gaulle's own partisans are still reeling. And indeed, the reasons behind the move are difficult to fathom. Certainly it cannot be ascribed to a desire to test his dictatorial authority: President de Gaulle had more powers than any of his predecessors ever enjoyed, and he did not use them.

Nor is this a matter of a plebiscite. After bringing the war in Algeria to a close, engineering the triumph scored in Germany, liquidating the various military *putsches*, affirming an independent attitude toward the United States, and increasing his personal prestige in the world at large (while at the same time exasperating his allies), de Gaulle has certainly already won a vote of confidence from the French people. The test of strength he has now provoked can only detract from this victory.

What then is the explanation? The answer must be sought in the General's obsessions. There are two of these: France's foreign policy in general, and the nation's military policy. Under no circumstances would de Gaulle be willing to disappear from the scene without having first guaranteed the continuity of the two projects for which he has battled all his life. The first of these is to achieve a European role for France which would be independent of both blocs – not independent in the neutralist sense, but in such a way that Europe, under French influence, might have just as important a voice in the Free World as the United States. The second project (which is a corollary of the first) is to build France's deterrent strength up to such proportions that she will be able to win the voice which befits her influence. If these two ambitions are to be successfully achieved, their continuity must be guaranteed by the chief of state rather than by depending on parliamentary ploys or the shifting tactics of party politics.

For this reason de Gaulle would like his successor to be all-powerful and at the same time not responsible to the Parliament, especially since this successor will probably not enjoy de Gaulle's enormous prestige. As de Gaulle would have it, the two Chambers would only be able to unseat that part of the Administration responsible for domestic social and economic problems. But here is where de Gaulle has brought into being the most powerful of the various hostile coalitions that have confronted him since 1958; for his objectives are just as sharply contested in the field of foreign policy as in that of national defense. The partisans of a politically united Europe accuse him of seeking a Franco-German union based on a dual nationalism; the partisans of Atlantic solidarity accuse him of creating a schism within NATO. These accusations were secondary as long as the nation agreed almost unanimously that de Gaulle alone could settle the Algerian problem. Today they are becoming powerful electoral weapons.

In spite of this, it is generally felt that the October 28 referendum will be a victory for de Gaulle, though not by any means an overwhelming one. It is also predicted, however, that the elections following the referendum will act as a check on his October 28 success. Should this prove true, France might well fall prey to political upheavals which would make the nation even less governable than it was under the Fourth Republic.

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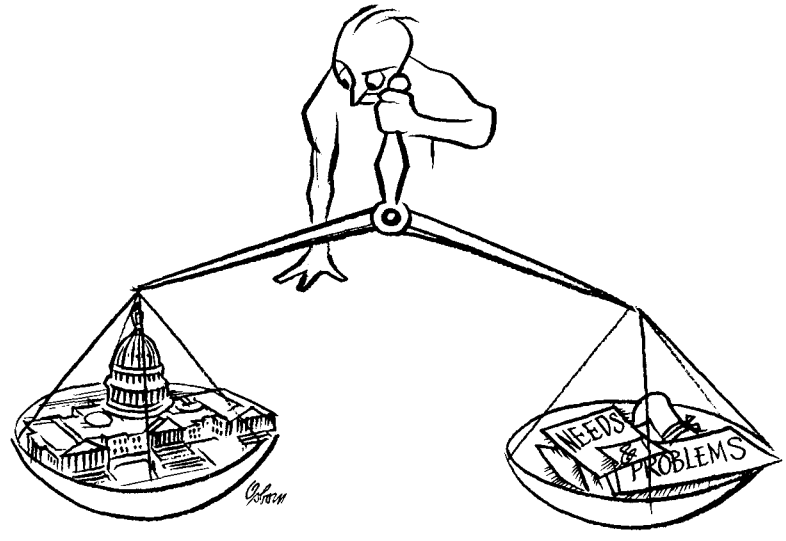
Kennedy's First Congress

by Helen Fuller



"When people ask me 'How has the Administration done?' or 'What do you think of the achievements of this session of Congress?' " Sen. Paul Douglas says, "I usually answer as did the man who was asked, 'What do you think of your wife?' His answer was, 'Compared with what?' "

Compared with the Eisenhower 86th Congress, Kennedy worked miracles with the first session of the 87th, in the judgment of many fair-minded observers. With a Republican President in the White House, the Democratic-controlled 86th Congress tried and failed to enact a long-term foreign aid bill, raise defense appropriations, and create a disarmament agency. It also tried and failed to raise the minimum wage, extend unemployment compensation, liberalize social security benefits, expand housing programs, and aid depressed areas. The Democratic 87th Congress, with a Democratic President in the White House, passed all of those programs in its first session, and approved the full appropriation request for the Alliance For Progress. It also authorized two brand new projects – the Food For Peace Agency and the Peace Corps. "We achieved more than at any time since my election to the Senate in 1948," so demanding a Senator as Douglas could say after the first session. "More was done in terms of new ideas and new legislation than at any time since 1938."

Having a President and a Congress of the same party after the years of divided government under Eisenhower did make a difference. "Instead of battling upstream to achieve those things which I felt were necessary, the President's support is like having the current of a mighty river flowing in the direction one wishes to go," a liberal Democratic Senator exulted at the end of 1961.

Kennedy's first Congress also did remarkably well compared with what the form sheets indicated its probable performance would be. With 64 Democrats and 36 Republicans, the Administration began 1961 numercially strong in the Senate. As it turned out, 16 Southern Democratic Senators voted with the Republicans on 50 percent or more of the issues selected for the *NR* voting charts (see p. 19). Still only a few liberal Republican votes were needed to pass most of the President's program. But the House was another kettle of fish. The 1960 election put 21 fewer Democrats in the House of Representatives than had the 1958 election. The Democrats still had a 263-174 majority, but when allowance had been made for the 60-odd Southern Democrats who usually voted Republican, the majority became a minority.

A careful, private count, taken before the 87th Congress convened, told Kennedy and his colleagues that, of all the bills on which he had promised prompt action, only housing could command a natural majority in the House. Judging by past performances, 70 or more Southern Democrats would defect to the Republican side on Kennedy's other priority programs. The Administration would have to fight a separate battle for each proposal. Each battle would call for a different strategy and a different, custom-made coalition to outmaneuver the conservative majority. And in the beginning the Kennedy forces were outflanked as well as outnumbered.

The archaic and undemocratic rules and procedures under which the House operates gave the conservative coalition a vast advantage. The chairman of the standing committees of the House rule as oligarchs. Because they owe their positions solely to seniority they are not subject to party discipline in the usual sense. Because they are senior, they are likely to come from safe, rural districts in one-party states. Thirteen of the 20 House chairmen were from Southern or Border

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States, not deeply responsive to the urban problems on which so much of the Kennedy program centered. Lacking a working majority of the whole House, the President and his allies, led by Speaker Rayburn, could not convincingly threaten balky chairmen without first gaining some control over the Lord High Oligarch of them all, the Chairman of the Rules Committee, Howard W. Smith of Virginia.

In 1910, in a spirit of reform, George Norris of Nebraska led a revolution to overturn the one-man rule of "Boss" Joseph Cannon, then Speaker of the House. Norris and the rebels succeeded in stripping the Speaker of the power to control the agenda or to appoint committees and their chairmen. The modern result has been to make responsible party government practically impossible and to create a new tyranny in the form of dictatorship by the Rules Committee which took unto itself the role of deciding what the House should and should not vote on, and what it could consider in conference with the Senate and on what conditions. The Rules Committee ruled over the House, and Chairman Smith, through a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats within the committee, ruled Rules. More subtly, the Rules Committee influenced the Senate by the constant threat of refusing to allow legislation it considered "too liberal" to go to conference.

Quickly, before the honeymoon atmosphere of a new Administration began to fade, the President and the Speaker moved to clip Smith's wings. Using every ounce of charm and muscle they could summon, they persuaded the House to increase the membership of the Rules Committee from 12 to 15, allowing Rayburn to add Kennedy men to change the balance of power in the President's favor.

The combined force of Rayburn's prestige, Kennedy's power, great effort on the part of Rayburn's lieutenants, experienced lobbyists for labor and liberal organizations and new lobbyists employed by the White House and every department and agency of government produced victory – by five votes. That included the votes of 19 Republicans.

This thin margin made possible most of the accomplishments to which Democratic candidates are pointing with pride in the current campaign. With a workable majority in the Rules Committee most of the time after its enlargement. Rayburn forced to a vote a succession of economic and welfare bills which Smith and the conservatives had held prisoner in the Rules Committee in the past.

The major barrier was breached. After the rules fight Kennedy and the White House commandos, led by Larry O'Brien, concentrated on broadening the Congressional center, winning more moderates to their side. Senate leaders credit Presidential leadership with gaining 10-20 votes on key issues, including the depressed areas bill, the minimum wage bill and the Development Loan Fund. The method was personal persuasion. The primary targets were Senators and Representatives from border states and small Western states who had wandered over into the conservative coalition during the Eisenhower years.

But after the strays returned to the fold, 12 to 14 Southern Democrats in the Senate and 60 or more in the House still regularly voted with the Republicans. Republican lines in the House firmed. The day of 19 Republican votes for an Administration bill – as on the rules change – was gone. The Democratic wheels were slowing down when the first session adjourned and Mr. Rayburn went home to die.

Thereafter, compared with what President Kennedy asked for it, and what the country needed, the record of the 87th Congress was far from good. At the end of the longest election-year session in Congressional history, Democratic leaders could claim a historic Trade Expansion Act, Kennedy's highest priority item, permitting him to cut tariffs and adjust US trade to the new conditions created by the European Common Market. There was a tax revision bill, a farm bill with "supply management" for wheat, a stiffer drug regulation law, and foreign aid appropriations.

But the tax bill was so one-sided in favor of business that many liberals voted against it. Foreign aid requests were cut severely. Congress turned down the President's request for standby authority to spend for public works in time of unemployment. The Senate killed medical care for the elderly under social security. The House killed aid to higher education. Both House and Senate united to do in Kennedy's plan to create a Department of Urban Affairs. The House Ways and Means Committee stomped on a proposed extension in unemployment pay.

In the single most significant area, that of stimulating economic growth, Congress agreed on the Trade Expansion Act and let it go at that. With few exceptions, even the minimal first-aid programs to treat unemployment asked by the President were rejected or cut down. The President gave up without formally asking for a tax cut to boost consumer buying. Congress could claim in its defense that the White House provided more talk than solid direction on how to step up the American economy to keep pace with Europe, Russia and Japan.

The 87th Congress seriously compromised the President's foreign policy position by restricting his power to deal with Yugoslavia and Poland. It made itself and the United States, look silly with windy policy resolutions on Berlin and Cuba.

In one area the Democratic majority was briskly effective. Something special was voted to please each one of the "interest groups" on which the Democrats count for votes. Hopefully, even business was handed

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a seven percent income tax cut to encourage expansion.

In all, Congress rejected more than 80 percent of the President's requests in 1962. To be sure, some bills which passed had many times the value of others that failed. And some requests were from the first expected to stay simmering on the back of the stove for a year or two. But part of the trouble was bad management by the Democratic Congressional leaders.

Senator Mansfield, according to his own judgment, cost the Administration two important measures – medicare and the creation of an Urban Affairs Department – by inept strategy, trying to bypass the regular committees. Representative McCormack did not prove to be another Sam Rayburn as Speaker. Less-than-the-best leadership in both houses encouraged strong men to try their muscle, and permitted petty personal fights to blow up into incidents. At the end of the session, "two stubborn old so-and-so's," as Senator Kerr referred to himself and Rep. Howard Smith, held up adjournment to fight over a pork barrel. The octogenarian chairmen of the two Appropriations Committees delayed Congress for weeks quarreling about who outranked whom.

Outmaneuvered by foxy "Judge" Smith, Speaker McCormack could only stand and gaze as the Rules Committee, at the end, again made five measures supported by the President disappear – two bills to create youth employment opportunities, a mass transit assistance program, construction grants and student loans to medical schools, and aid for migrant workers.

"Don't Underrate This Magnificent Animal."

Yet the problem is less the leaders than the machinery. In the House, in the 87th Congress, Howard Smith (steering from the Rules Committee) and Clarence Cannon (regulating the gas from the 50-man Appropriations Committee where he and 32 conservatives prevail) occupied the drivers' seats. Even if the President succeeds in increasing his Democratic majority on November 6, Smith and Cannon will still sit in those seats unless Congress reorganizes them out.

Democrats lost their best chance in a long time to modernize the House machinery when Speaker Rayburn decided to patch up the Rules Committee rather than overhaul it at the beginning of 1961. His inner circle unanimously advised the Speaker to break the Rules blockade by "purging" a nominal Democratic member, Rep. William Colmer, who opposed the Kennedy-Johnson ticket in 1960. There was plenty of precedent for removing the Mississippi Dixiecrat from that strategic post. But Rayburn chose the gentler course of enlarging the committee. Having won that battle, he still held back from the full measure of the victory. No move was made within the committee to limit the power of Chairman Smith to rule it. Smith was rebuked but not effectively restrained. When he chose to break loose toward the end of the session to kill off Administration bills again, it was child's play.

In January, Smith and Colmer will move to return to a 12-man Rules Committee, and the fight Rayburn began will have to be fought all over again. Perhaps Congress can be persuaded at that time to consider other modern improvements to the tottering structure as well. Should not the Speaker be returned to the role of party leader with the powers to function as such? Is there not a better way than seniority to select committee chairmen? Would a rule of relevancy in debate really be an undue restraint on the Senate? Would not more joint staffs and more joint hearings lighten the work load for standing Committees of the two houses?

It has been 16 years since Congress considered the state of its affairs, not since the LaFollette-Monroney Committee was set up to study Congressional reorganization in 1946. A bipartisan group of Senators and Representatives is beginning to attract attention to a new proposal for a similar investigation into Congressional organization. Senators Clark, Humphrey and Kuchel, and Representatives Reuss and Lindsay, the original sponsors, are being joined by others. They will need the President to help explain to the country from his experience that the seemingly dry-as-dust subject of Congressional procedures is actually loaded with drama and meaning.

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How They Voted on Key Issues

By which of their votes should members of Congress be judged? By all of them, and by more. For a Congressman's value cannot be weighed only on a voting scale. Does he do his homework? Is he persuasive and active in committees and on the floor? Has he, perhaps, "ducked" an issue or voted contrary to his inclinations because he was convinced the bill in question was bound to win (or lose)? Or because home pressures were irresistible (and if he isn't re-elected he cannot vote for any *of the measures in which he believes)? Or because he had his heart set on getting one or two other bills adopted, for which he had to pay a price (his political capital to spend or trade is limited)? Such questions must be borne in mind when reading the charts that follow on pages 19 through 22.*

Selecting 12 votes in the House and 12 in the Senate as the *most indicative ones is a highly subjective act. The editors of* The New Republic *have tried, after considering the total record of the Congress and after investigation on Capitol Hill, to pick those votes which, taken together, give a fair sampling of each legislator's point of view.*

SENATE

1. CLOTURE (SR 4): *January 11, 1961.*
Anderson (D, N.M.) and Morton (R, Ky.) had introduced a resolution to change Rule 22 by providing for adoption of cloture by three-fifths of the Senators present and voting, rather than two-thirds. An amendment offered by Humphrey (D, Minn.) and 25 others would have allowed debate to be cut off by a majority vote 15 days after a cloture petition had been filed by 16 Senators, after which each Senator would be entitled to an hour on the subject matter before the chamber. Debate centered on the tradition of unlimited discussion in the Senate plus the argument that the Senate is a continuing body versus the platform pledges of both political parties to liberalize the present Rule 22. Mansfield (D, Mont.) and Dirksen (R, Ill.) moved to refer the Anderson-Morton resolution and the Humphrey amendment to the Senate Rules Committee, thus killing them. Motion to refer agreed to 50-46.
32 Democrats and 18 Republicans supported the motion; 31 Democrats and 15 Republicans opposed it. (A vote for referral is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

2. MINIMUM WAGE (HR 3935): *April 19, 1961.*
Monroney (D, Okla.) moved to limit minimum wage coverage of retail, service, gas station, laundry and construction workers and reconstruction enterprises to chains operating in two or more states regardless of volume of business. His amendment would have reduced coverage from 4.1 million to 2.5 million workers. Amendment rejected 39-56.
20 Democrats and 19 Republicans supported the amendment; 43 Democrats and 13 Republicans opposed it. (A vote for is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

3. SCHOOL AID (S 1021): *May 25, 1961.*
This was a vote on final passage of a bill authorizing a 3-year program of federal grants to the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and the territories to help local school districts support their public elementary and secondary schools. An appropriation of $850 million in each year of the program, or a total of $2,550 million, would be used by local school districts for constructing and equipping public school facilities; employment of additional public school teachers and increase of teachers' salaries; other maintenance and operating costs of public elementary or secondary schools; and special experimental projects. Passed 49-34.
41 Democrats and 8 Republicans supported the bill; 12 Democrats and 22 Republicans opposed it. (A vote for is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

4. WILDERNESS PRESERVATION (S 174): *September 6, 1961.*
Allott (R, Colo.) offered an amendment to grant to the appropriate Secretary (Interior or Agriculture) authority to authorize prospecting, mining, exploration for production of oil, gas, establishment and maintenance of reservoirs, water conservation works, transmission lines, and other facilities within national forests and public domain areas included in the wilderness system. Rejected 35-51.
11 Democrats and 24 Republicans supported the amendment; 44 Democrats and 7 Republicans opposed it. (A vote for Allott's amendment is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

5. ARMS CONTROL (S 2180): *September 8, 1961.*
Goldwater (R, Ariz.) moved to amend the bill authorizing creation of a US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, so as to deny the Agency authority to conduct research, development and other studies in the field of disarmament; forbid it to make arrangements, including contracts, agreements and grants, to conduct research, development and other studies in the field of disarmament by private or public institutions or persons; and prohibit it from coordinating research, development, and other studies in the field of disarmament by or for other government agencies. Amendment rejected 43-46.

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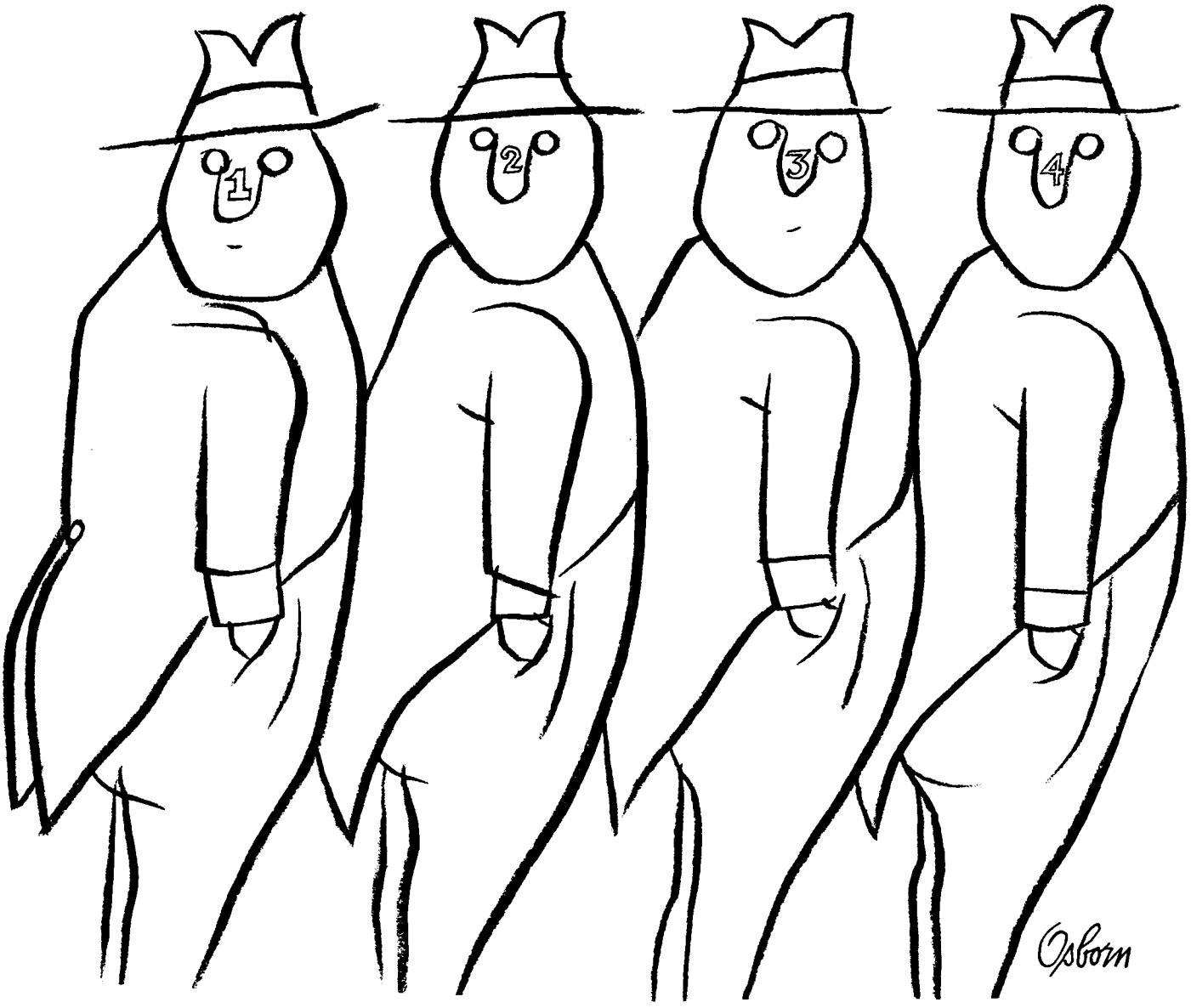

20 Democrats and 23 Republicans supported the amendment; 38 Democrats and 8 Republicans rejected it. (A vote for is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

6. URBAN AFFAIRS (SR 288): *February 20, 1962.*
In 1961 the Administration recommended creating a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing with Cabinet status to coordinate the principal housing agencies. On January 30, 1962, the President submitted the request in the form of a Reorganization Plan. Such plans become effective 60 days from the date of submission unless disapproved within that period by either the House or Senate. In an effort to get the Senate on record, a motion was made by Randolph (D, W.Va.) to discharge the bill from further consideration by committee. Discharge motion rejected 42-58.

4 Republicans and 38 Democrats supported the discharge motion; 32 Republicans and 26 Democrats opposed it. (A vote for is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

7. FARM SURPLUSES (S 3225): *May 24, 1962.*
This is the vote on the Ellender (D, La.) amendment, deleting the 1-year extension of the 1962 feed grains program and substituting the Administration's permanent marketing quota program for controlling surpluses of corn, grain sorghums and barley. His amendment would provide a permanent supply-management program offering farmers a choice between strict acreage-marketing controls with high supports or no controls and low or no supports. Amendment agreed to 46-37.

46 Democrats and no Republicans supported the amendment; 29 Republicans and 8 Democrats opposed it. (A vote for Ellender's amendment is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

8. PRESIDENTIAL DISCRETION (S 2996): *June 7, 1962.*
An amendment offered by Cotton (R, N.H.) and Murphy (R, N.H.) would have barred aid to countries, notwithstanding any other provision of law, exporting arms or strategic materials to countries in the Communist bloc or any other country dominated or controlled by the USSR. Unlike the present Battle Act, the amendment would deny

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the President authority to waive the prohibition, even when in his judgment the national interest required it. Amendment rejected 45-40.

12 Democrats and 28 Republicans supported the amendment; 40 Democrats and 5 Republicans opposed it. (A vote for is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

9. HEALTH INSURANCE (HR 10606): *July 17, 1962.*
Kerr (D, Okla.) moved to table the Anderson-Javits proposal which embodied the basic features of the Administration's scheme for limited health insurance for the aged, financed through social security. The Anderson-Javits measure would have entitled all persons 65 or over receiving social security or railroad retirement up to 90 days a year hospital care, up to 180 days a year nursing home care, up to 240 home health service visits a year, and outpatient diagnostic services. It would have been financed through an increase of one-half percentage point in social security tax – half to be paid by employer and half by worker –plus a rise to $5,200 from the present $4,800 in maximum amount of annual earnings subject to social security tax. It would have given beneficiaries a choice between direct government benefits or government assistance up to $100 a year to pay for a private health insurance policy. It permitted private health insurance groups to handle certain administrative functions in dealing with hospitals. It would also have permitted Treasury financing for persons over 65 who are not covered by social security or railroad retirement. Kerr's motion to table agreed to 52-48.

31 Republicans and 21 Democrats supported Kerr; 43 Democrats and 5 Republicans were opposed. (A vote for the Kerr motion is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

10. TAX EXEMPTION (HR 10650): *August 20, 1962.*
The House had passed and sent to the Senate a bill to eliminate expense allowance abuses by limiting tax deductible expenses for entertainment, amusement or recreation to those directly related to the active conduct of a trade or business. The Senate then amended the House version so as to give companies greater latitude in deducting entertainment expenses (*i.e.*, tickets to shows, races, baseball games). Amendment adopted 54-39.

32 Democrats and 7 Republicans opposed the Senate modification; 28 Democrats and 26 Republicans supported it. (A vote for the amendment is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

11. TRADE EXPANSION (HR 11970): *September 18, 1962.*
Bush (R, Conn.) moved to curtail the President's tariff-cutting powers under the proposed Trade Expansion Act by restoring "peril point" procedures under which the Tariff Commission has been required to fix points below which duties could not be reduced without, in the opinion of the commission, imperiling the domestic producers of competitive goods. Amendment rejected 38-40.

13 Democrats and 25 Republicans supported the amendment; 40 Democrats and no Republicans opposed it. (A vote for the Bush amendment is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

12. FOREIGN AID (HR 13175): *October 2, 1962.*
Mundt (R, S.D.) moved to reduce by $125 million the $1.125 billion proposed for development loans in fiscal 1963. Amendment rejected 38-40.

17 Democrats and 21 Republicans supported the amendment; 33 Democrats and 7 Republicans opposed it. (A vote for Mundt is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

HOUSE

1. RULES (HR 127): *January 31, 1961.*
Speaker Rayburn's resolution to enlarge the Rules Committee from 12 members (8 Democrats, 4 Republicans) to 15 members (10 Democrats, 5 Republicans) was designed to prevent conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats on the Committee from blocking House floor action on proposals approved by legislative committees. Adopted 217-212.

195 Democrats and 22 Republicans supported the resolution; 64 Democrats and 148 Republicans opposed it. (A vote for is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

2. MINIMUM WAGE (HR 3935): *March 24, 1961.*
Ayres (R, Ohio) and Kitchin (D, N.C.) proposed a substitute bill for the Administration-supported committee bill which would have raised the minimum wage from $1 to $1.25 an hour and extended coverage to 4.3 million additional workers. The Ayres-Kitchin substitute set the minimum at $1.15 for previously covered workers, $1 for newly-covered workers and did not provide overtime for new workers. Substitute adopted 216-203.

74 Democrats and 142 Republicans supported the substitute; 177 Democrats and 26 Republicans opposed it. (A vote for is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

3. DEPRESSED AREAS (S 1): *April 26, 1961.*
This act authorized $394 million in federal loans and grants for development of economically-depressed industrial and rural areas. $300 million of the lending authority would be financed directly by the Treasury rather than by Congressional appropriations, a provision intended to ensure that the money would in fact be available. Agreed to 224-193.

193 Democrats and 31 Republicans supported adoption; 56 Democrats and 137 Republicans opposed it. (A vote for is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

4. MALLORY RULE (HR 7053): *June 12, 1961.*
This was the third attempt by Congress to modify a 1957 Supreme Court decision, that an unnecessary delay in arraignment constitutes illegal detention, and that evidence obtained during that period of delay is not admissible in federal courts. HR 7053 provided that, in the District of Columbia courts, evidence, including statements and confessions, should not be inadmissible solely because of a delay in arraignment. Lindsay (R, N.Y.) moved to recommit the bill to the House District Committee. His motion was rejected 104-252.

93 Democrats and 11 Republicans supported the motion; 122 Democrats and 130 Republicans opposed it. (A vote

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for recommittal is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

5. HOUSING (HR 6028): *June 22, 1961.*
McDonough (R, Calif.) attempted to replace the Administration's expanded housing program (including slum clearance, urban renewal, housing for the elderly and for college students) by a one-year extension of present legislation. His substitute was also designed to eliminate "backdoor" spending by requiring that new authorizations have Appropriations Committee approval before funds could be committed by contract or withdrawn from the Treasury. Rejected 197-215.

39 Democrats and 158 Republicans supported the substitution; 208 Democrats and 7 Republicans rejected it. (A vote for is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

6. PUBLIC POWER (HR 7576): *August 8, 1961.*
Van Zandt (R, Pa.) moved to instruct House conferees not to agree to a Senate provision authorizing $95 million for building an electric power plant to use heat from a dual-purpose plutonium reactor at Hanford, Washington. Motion agreed to 235-164.

81 Democrats and 154 Republicans supported Van Zandt's motion; 155 Democrats and 9 Republicans opposed it. (A vote for the motion is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

7. TAX REFORM (HR 10650): *March 29, 1962.*
The President's limited tax revision program, first submitted to Congress April 20, 1961, went through successive modifications including an unsuccessful attempt to recommit the bill with instructions to strike its two major provisions – a 7 percent investment tax credit and withholding of 20 percent of dividends and some forms of interest. It finally passed 219-196.

1 Republican and 218 Democrats supported the bill; 162 Republicans and 34 Democrats opposed it. (A vote for is marked plus; a vote against, minus.)

8. FARM CONTROLS (HR 11222): *June 21, 1962.*
Findley (R, Ill.) moved to recommit an Administration bill embodying supply-management controls for wheat, corn and other feed grains. The Administration bill also provided incentive payments to dairy farmers who voluntarily reduced their sales of milk and dairy products; a long-range program of cropland retirement under which the government would assist farmers through payments and loans to retire land and develop recreation and conservation facilities; authority for the government to buy crops not in the inventories of the Commodity Credit Corporation for donation to needy foreign countries under the Food for Peace Program of economic assistance; and authority to expand long-term credit sales of surplus commodities to foreign countries through private trade channels. Opposition centered, however, on the permanent controls feature of the program, under which farmers would have a choice in a referendum between supply-management controls and a free market in any year. Findley recommittal motion agreed to 215-205.

167 Republicans and 48 Democrats supported his motion; 1 Republican and 204 Democrats opposed it. (A vote for is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

9. TRADE EXPANSION (HR 11970): *June 28, 1962.*
Mason (R, Ill.) moved to recommit the Trade Expansion Act with instructions that a substitute be reported back to the House extending the existing Trade Agreements Act for one more year. Since the negotiating authority under the existing Act (due to expire June 30, 1962) had been virtually exhausted, the Mason motion would have granted nothing. HR 11970 gave the President authority to reduce tariffs 50 percent (or as much as 100 percent on goods of which the US and the European Common Market together accounted for 80 percent of free world trade), and to eliminate tariffs on certain tropical commodities and on goods on which the existing tariff was 5 percent or less. It also authorized, for the first time, "adjustment assistance" for businesses and workers injured by foreign competition. Mason's motion rejected 171-253.

127 Republicans and 44 Democrats supported recommittal. 43 Republicans and 210 Democrats opposed it. (A vote for is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

10. UN LOAN (S 2768): *September 14, 1962.*
This bill authorized the US to lend up to $100 million to the UN on a dollar-for-dollar matching basis with other nations. Adair (R, Ind.) moved to recommit and insert an amendment by Byrnes (R, Wis.) barring any US loan until the UN General Assembly adopted the World Court advisory opinion on financial obligations of members. Adair's motion to recommit rejected 171-219.

127 Republicans and 44 Democrats supported the motion; 26 Republicans and 193 Democrats opposed it. (A vote for is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

11. STUDENT LOANS (HR 8900): *September 20, 1962.*
Kearns (R, Pa.) moved to recommit the college aid bill with instructions to strike the student loan section. The bill (itself the product of compromise between House-Senate conferees) authorized $1.5 billion in grants and loans over five years to public and private colleges for construction of science and engineering laboratories and classrooms and libraries, $250 million in grants to public community (junior) colleges, and about $600 million in student loans. The student loans were to be made through the colleges, and each school was to be allowed to set aside 20 percent of its loan funds for grants ("nonreimbursable loans") to exceptionally needy and promising students. Kearns' recommittal motion agreed to 214-186.

130 Republicans and 84 Democrats supported the motion; 30 Republicans and 156 Democrats opposed it. (A vote for is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

12. FOREIGN AID (HR 13175)): *September 20, 1962.*
Rhodes (R, Ariz.) moved to recommit the foreign aid bill with instructions to cut the appropriation for economic assistance by $100 million. Motion rejected 190-203.

125 Republicans and 65 Democrats supported the motion; 34 Republicans and 169 Democrats opposed it. (A vote for is marked minus; a vote against, plus.)

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THE RECORD OF THE SENATE

	Cloture	Minimum Wage	School Aid	Wilderness Preservation	Arms Control	Urban Affairs	Farm Surpluses	Presidential Discretion	Health Insurance	Tax Exemption	Trade Expansion	Foreign Aid
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALABAMA												
Hill (D)	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	O
Sparkman (D)	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
ALASKA												
Bartlett (D)	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gruening (D)	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
ARIZONA												
Hayden (D)	−	+	+	−	O	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
Goldwater (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
ARKANSAS												
Fulbright (D)	−	−	+	−	O	−	O	O	−	−	O	O
McClellan (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	O
CALIFORNIA												
Engle (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kuchel (R)	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
COLORADO												
Carroll (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Allott (R)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
CONNECTICUT												
Dodd (D)	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+
Bush (R)	+	+	O	+	+	−	O	−	−	+	−	−
DELAWARE												
Boggs (R)	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Williams (R)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
FLORIDA												
Holland (D)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+
Smathers (D)	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
GEORGIA												
Russell (D)	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
Talmadge (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
HAWAII												
Long (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Fong (R)	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
IDAHO												
Church (D)	+	O	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
Jordan (R)										−	−	−
ILLINOIS												
Douglas (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
Dirksen (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
INDIANA												
Hartke (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
Capehart (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
IOWA												
Hickenlooper (R)	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Miller (R)	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
KANSAS												
Carlson (R)	−	−	+	O	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Pearson (R)						−	−	−	−	−	−	−
KENTUCKY												
Cooper (R)	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
Morton (R)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	O	O
LOUISIANA												
Ellender (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
Long (D)	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
MAINE												
Muskie (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Smith (R)	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
MARYLAND												
Beall (R)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Butler (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	O	O	−
MASSACHUSETTS												
Smith (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	−	+	+
Saltonstall (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
MICHIGAN												
Hart (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McNamara (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
MINNESOTA												
Humphrey (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McCarthy (D)	+	+	O	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+

New Republic ratings:

The symbol [+] indicates NR's agreement with the position taken; the symbol [−] indicates disagreement. The pairs for and against legislation follow the same general classification. Those paired generally, absent, or not voting are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the Senate.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears on pages 15-17.

Votes compiled from reports of the Congressional Quarterly.

	Cloture	Minimum Wage	School Aid	Wilderness Preservation	Arms Control	Urban Affairs	Farm Surpluses	Presidential Discretion	Health Insurance	Tax Exemption	Trade Expansion	Foreign Aid
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MISSISSIPPI												
Eastland (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
Stennis (D)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
MISSOURI												
Long (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
Symington (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
MONTANA												
Mansfield (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
Metcalf (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
NEBRASKA												
Curtis (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Hruska (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
NEVADA												
Bible (D)	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	O	+	O	−	−
Cannon (D)	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
Murphy (R)						−	−	−	−	O	−	−
Cotton (R)	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
NEW JERSEY												
Williams (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
Case (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	O	+
NEW MEXICO												
Anderson (D)	+	+	+	+	O	−	−	+	+	O	+	O
Chavez (D)	−	+	O	+	O	−	+	+	+	+	+	O
NEW YORK												
Javits (R)	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	O	+
Keating (R)	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	O	−
NORTH CAROLINA												
Ervin (D)	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
Jordan (D)	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
NORTH DAKOTA												
Burdick (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	−
Young (R)	−	+	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
OHIO												
Lausche (D)	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Young (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
OKLAHOMA												
Kerr (D)	−	−	O	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
Monroney (D)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	O
OREGON												
Morse (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	−
Neuberger (D)	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PENNSYLVANIA												
Clark (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Scott (R)	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
RHODE ISLAND												
Pastore (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pell (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA												
Johnston (D)	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
Thurmond (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
SOUTH DAKOTA												
Bottum (R)									−	−	−	−
Mundt (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
TENNESSEE												
Gore (D)	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kefauver (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
TEXAS												
Tower (R)				−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
Yarborough (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
UTAH												
Moss (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bennett (R)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
VERMONT												
Aiken (R)	+	+	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
Prouty (R)	+	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
VIRGINIA												
Byrd (D)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
Robertson (D)	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	O	−	−	−	−
WASHINGTON												
Jackson (D)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Magnuson (D)	+	+	+	O	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	O
WEST VIRGINIA												
Byrd (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Randolph (D)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
WISCONSIN												
Proxmire (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
Wiley (R)	−	O	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	O	−	+
WYOMING												
Hickey (D)	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	O
McGee (D)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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THE RECORD OF THE HOUSE

	Rules	Minimum Wage	Depressed Areas	Mallory Rule	Housing	Public Power	Tax Reform	Farm Controls	Trade Expansion	United Nations Loan	Student Loans	Foreign Aid
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALABAMA												
3 Andrews (D)	–	–	–	–	+	+	O	+	–	–	–	–
1 Boykin (D)	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
7 Elliott (D)	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2 Grant (D)	–	–	–	O	O	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
9 Huddleston (D)	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
8 Jones (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
5 Rains (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	O	–	+
4 Roberts (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
6 Selden (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	O	+	+	–	–	–
ALASKA												
AL Rivers (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ARIZONA												
2 Udall (D)				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1 Rhodes (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ARKANSAS												
5 Alford (D)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
1 Gathings (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
4 Harris (D)	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2 Mills (D)*	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
6 Norrell (D)			–	–	–	–	+	+	+	O	O	O
3 Trimble (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
CALIFORNIA												
7 Cohelan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Hagen (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
2 Johnson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 McFall (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Miller, C. (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Miller, G. P. (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Moss (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
29 Saund (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	+
5 Shelley (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
27 Sheppard (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Sisk (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Baldwin (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
10 Gubser (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Mailliard (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
13 Teague (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
28 Utt (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
30 Wilson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Younger (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Los Angeles County												
22 Corman (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23 Doyle (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Holifield (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 King (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26 Roosevelt (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Bell (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
21 Hiestand (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
18 Hosmer (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
24 Lipscomb (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
15 McDonough (R)	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–
25 Rousselot (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
20 Smith (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
COLORADO												
4 Aspinall (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Rogers (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3 Chenoweth (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Dominick (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–
CONNECTICUT												
1 Daddario (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Giaimo (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
AL Kowalski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Monagan (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
2 Seely-Brown (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
4 Sibal (R)	+	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
DELAWARE												
AL McDowell (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+

New Republic ratings:

The symbol [+] indicates NR's agreement with the position taken; the symbol [–] indicates disagreement. The pairs for and against legislation follow the same general classification. Those paired generally, absent, or not voting are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the House.

* The Speaker of the House does not vote except in case of a tie. Mr. McCormack became Speaker on January 10, 1962.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears on pages 17-18.

Votes compiled from reports of the Congressional Quarterly.

	Rules	Minimum Wage	Depressed Areas	Mallory Rule	Housing	Public Power	Tax Reform	Farm Controls	Trade Expansion	United Nations Loan	Student Loans	Foreign Aid
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
FLORIDA												
2 Bennett (D)	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
4 Fascell (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
7 Haley (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Herlong (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
8 Matthews (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
6 Rogers (D)	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3 Sikes (D)	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	O	–
1 Cramer (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
GEORGIA												
8 Blitch (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	O	O	–	O
5 Davis, J. C. (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	O	O	–
7 Davis, J. W. (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
4 Flynt (D)	–	–	+	–	O	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
3 Forrester (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1 Hagan (D)	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
9 Landrum (D)	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	O	–	–
2 Pilcher (D)	+	–	+	–	+	O	+	+	+	+	–	–
10 Stephens (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
6 Vinson (D)	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	O
HAWAII												
AL Inouye (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
IDAHO												
2 *Harding (D)*	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
1 Pfost (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	–	+
ILLINOIS												
25 Gray (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Mack (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
24 Price (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23 Shipley (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
16 Anderson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17 Arends (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
19 Chiperfield (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
20 Findley (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14 Hoffman (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
15 Mason (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	O
18 Michel (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
22 *Springer (R)*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
Chicago — Cook County												
1 Dawson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Finnegan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Kluczynski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Libonati (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Murphy (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 O'Brien (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 O'Hara (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Pucinski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Rostenkowski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Yates (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Church (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Collier (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Derwinski (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
INDIANA												
3 Brademas (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Denton (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Madden (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Roush (D)					+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
4 Adair (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Bray (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 Bruce (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Halleck (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Harvey (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Roudebush (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Wilson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
IOWA												
6 Coad (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
5 Smith (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2 Bromwell (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Gross (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8 Hoeven (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Jensen (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
4 Kyl (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Schwengel (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
KANSAS												
5 Breeding (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	–
1 Avery (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Dole (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Ellsworth (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 McVey (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Shriver (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	Rules	Minimum Wage	Depressed Areas	Mallory Rule	Housing	Public Power	Tax Reform	Farm Controls	Trade Expansion	United Nations Loan	Student Loans	Foreign Aid
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
KENTUCKY												
3 Burke (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Chelf (D)	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2 Natcher (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	O	+
7 Perkins (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Spence (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Stubblefield (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
6 Watts (D)	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
8 Siler (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
LOUISIANA												
2 Boggs (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Waggonner (D)							–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Hebert (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
8 McSween (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	O	+	O	O
6 Morrison (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Passman (D)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
7 Thompson (D)	+	O	+	–	–	O	+	+	O	+	O	–
3 Willis (D)	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
MAINE												
1 Garland (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 McIntire (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Tupper (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	+	+	+	+
MARYLAND												
2 Brewster (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
4 Fallon (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
7 Friedel (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Garmatz (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Johnson (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
5 Lankford (D)	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
6 Mathias (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
MASSACHUSETTS												
2 Boland (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Burke (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Donohue (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Lane (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Macdonald (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
*12 McCormack (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+						
11 O'Neill (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Philbin (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
6 Bates (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1 Conte (R)	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
10 Curtis (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	+	+
9 Keith (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
14 Martin (R)	+	–	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	O
5 Morse (R)	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
MICHIGAN												
7 O'Hara (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Bennett (R)	O	+	+	+	O	–	O	–	–	+	+	–
18 Broomfield (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
10 Cederberg (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Chamberlain (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Ford (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
9 Griffin (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
8 Harvey (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Hoffman (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	O	–	O	O
3 Johansen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 Knox (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Meader (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Detroit — Wayne County												
13 Diggs (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Dingell (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 Griffiths (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Lesinski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Nedzi (D)							+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Ryan (D)							+	+	+	+	+	+
MINNESOTA												
8 Blatnik (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Karth (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Marshall (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
7 Andersen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	–
5 Judd (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
9 Langen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 MacGregor (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2 Nelsen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Quie (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
MISSISSIPPI												
1 Abernethy (D)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Colmer (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Smith (D)	–	–	O	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Whitten (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Williams (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Winstead (D)	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–

	Rules	Minimum Wage	Depressed Areas	Mallory Rule	Housing	Public Power	Tax Reform	Farm Controls	Trade Expansion	United Nations Loan	Student Loans	Foreign Aid
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MISSOURI												
5 Bolling (D)	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Cannon (D)	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	O	+
6 Hull (D)	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
8 Ichord (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
10 Jones (D)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1 Karsten (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Moulder (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	–
4 Randall (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3 Sullivan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Curtis (R)	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
7 Hall (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
MONTANA												
1 Olsen (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Battin (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NEBRASKA												
3 Beermann (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Cunningham (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Martin (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Weaver (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
NEVADA												
AL Baring (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
2 Bass (R)	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	O	O	O
1 Merrow (R)	+	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	+	O	+	+
NEW JERSEY												
11 Vacancy												
14 Daniels (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Gallagher (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Joelson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Rodino (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Thompson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Auchincloss (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Cahill (R)	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
6 Dwyer (R)	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
5 Frelinghuysen (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
2 Glenn (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Osmers (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
12 Wallhauser (R)	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
7 Widnall (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
NEW MEXICO												
AL Montoya (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	O	+	+
AL Morris (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	O	–	–
NEW YORK												
41 Dulski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
30 O'Brien (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
1 Pike (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
32 Stratton (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27 Barry (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
3 Becker (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Derounian (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
26 Dooley (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	O	O	O
43 Goodell (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
33 Kilburn (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
31 King (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
40 Miller (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
39 Ostertag (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
42 Pillion (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
34 Pirnie (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
35 Riehlman (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
37 Robison (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
28 St. George (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
36 Taber (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
38 Weis (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	+	O	–	O
29 Wharton (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
New York City												
5 Addabbo (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
8 Anfuso (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
24 Buckley (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Carey (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Celler (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Delaney (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Farbstein (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23 Gilbert (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Healey (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Rosenthal (D)							+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Kelly (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Keogh (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Multer (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Powell (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Rooney (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Ryan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Santangelo (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Zelenko (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25 Fino (R)	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	O	O	O
4 Halpern (R)	+	+	+	O	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
17 Lindsay (R)	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
15 Ray (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
NORTH CAROLINA												
9 Alexander (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1 Bonner (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Cooley (D)	–	+	+	O	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Fountain (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
3 Henderson (D)	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
8 Kitchin (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
6 Kornegay (D)	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
7 Lennon (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
5 Scott (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
12 Taylor (D)	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
11 Whitener (D)	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	O	–	–
10 Jonas (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NORTH DAKOTA												
AL Nygaard (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
AL Short (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
OHIO												
9 Ashley (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Cook (D)	+	+	+	+	+	O	–	+	+	+	+	+
20 Feighan (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
18 Hays (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
19 Kirwan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Moeller (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
21 Vanik (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
17 Ashbrook (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14 Ayres (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–
8 Betts (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
22 Bolton (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
16 Bow (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Brown (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Clancy (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12 Devine (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Harsha (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Latta (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 McCulloch (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
23 Minshall (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
15 Moorehead (R)	–	–	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
13 Mosher (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
3 Schenck (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Scherer (R)	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
OKLAHOMA												
3 Albert (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Edmondson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Jarman (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
4 Steed (D)	+	+	+	O	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
6 Wickersham (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1 Belcher (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
OREGON												
3 Green (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Ullman (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Durno (R)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Norblad (R)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
PENNSYLVANIA												
25 Clark (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
21 Dent (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
11 Flood (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	O	+	+	+
30 Holland (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28 Moorhead (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26 Morgan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Rhodes (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Walter (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
29 Corbett (R)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
8 Curtin (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	O	+
9 Dague (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12 Fenton (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
27 Fulton (R)	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
23 Gavin (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
19 Goodling (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
24 Kearns (R)	–	–	+	–	+	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
7 Milliken (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
16 Kunkel (R)				–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
22 Saylor (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
17 Schneebeli (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
13 Schweiker (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
10 Scranton (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
20 Van Zandt (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	O
18 Whalley (R)	–	O	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	O
Philadelphia City												
1 Barrett (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Byrne (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Granahan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Green (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Nix (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Toll (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND												
2 Fogarty (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
1 St. Germain (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	Rules	Minimum Wage	Depressed Areas	Mallory Rule	Housing	Public Power	Tax Reform	Farm Controls	Trade Expansion	United Nations Loan	Student Loans	Foreign Aid
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
SOUTH CAROLINA												
4 Ashmore (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
3 Dorn (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
5 Hemphill (D)	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
6 McMillan (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2 Riley (D)								+	–	–	+	O
1 Rivers (D)	–	–	+	–	–	O	+	+	–	O	–	–
SOUTH DAKOTA												
2 Berry (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Reifel (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
TENNESSEE												
6 Bass (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
9 Davis (D)	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
8 Everett (D)	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
4 Evins (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3 Frazier (D)	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	O	–	+
5 Loser (D)	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
7 Murray (D)	–	–	–	O	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
2 Baker (R)	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1 Reece (R)				–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
TEXAS												
3 Beckworth (D)	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
2 Brooks (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
17 Burleson (D)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
22 Casey (D)	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Dowdy (D)	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–
21 Fisher (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
20 Gonzalez (D)							+	+	–	+	+	+
15 Kilgore (D)	–	–	–	O	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
19 Mahon (D)	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
1 Patman (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+
11 Poage (D)	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
13 Purcell (D)							+	+	–	+	–	+
4 Roberts (D)							+	+	–	–	–	+
18 Rogers (D)	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	O	–	–
16 Rutherford (D)	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Teague (D)	+	–	–	–	O	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
8 Thomas (D)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
9 Thompson (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
10 Thornberry (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
12 Wright (D)	+	O	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
14 Young (D)	+	–	+	–	O	+	+	–	+	+	–	–
5 Alger (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
UTAH												
2 King (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Peterson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
VERMONT												
AL Stafford (R)	–	–	–	O	–	O	–	–	+	+	+	+
VIRGINIA												
4 Abbitt (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1 Downing (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
3 Gary (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
2 Hardy (D)	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
7 Harrison (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	O
9 Jennings (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
8 Smith (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
5 Tuck (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
10 Broyhill (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Poff (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
WASHINGTON												
3 Hansen (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Magnuson (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Horan (R)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	O	–	–	+
4 May (R)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Pelly (R)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Tollefson (R)	–	O	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
2 Westland (R)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
WEST VIRGINIA												
3 Bailey (D)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Hechler (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Kee (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Slack (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Staggers (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
1 Moore (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
WISCONSIN												
9 Johnson (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Kastenmeier (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Reuss (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Zablocki (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Byrnes (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Laird (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 O'Konski (R)	+	+	+	O	–	O	–	–	–	–	+	–
1 Schadeberg (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Thomson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Van Pelt (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
WYOMING												
AL Harrison (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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A Russian Remembers Picasso

by Ilya Ehrenburg

Those who write about Picasso make the point that he sets out to flay and gut the visible world, to dismember both nature and morality, to disrupt that which exists. Some see in this his strength and revolutionary character; others speak with regret or indignation of his "spirit of destruction." (At the end of the forties, reading the opinions of some of our critics on Picasso, I thought it curious that their verdict – not, of course, by any choice of theirs – coincided with that of Churchill and Truman, who, being respectively an amateur painter and an amateur musician, condemned the rebel Picasso.) I have felt Picasso's destructive power many times in my life. There were periods when I felt nothing but that power, rejoiced in it, and drew inspiration from it. But that belongs to my biography, not Picasso's. (Today some of Picasso's paintings seems to be unbearable; I cannot understand how he can conceive a hatred for a lovely woman's face.) . . .

We were all young and we liked to shock. But Picasso has retained his love of jokes, of taking people in, up to his eightieth year. To this day he still poses naked for photographers, makes fools of illustrious visitors, takes part in bullfights. There is a large series of lithographs called "The Painter and his Model." The painter sometimes resembles Rubens, sometimes Matisse in his old age. The models are nude professional sitters or personages out of Velasquez and other old masters; among them there is often a young jester, and this jester is like Picasso (he laughs at himself, and, surely, is proud of himself). No one, listening to him, knows exactly where the joke ends. He knows how to make fun with a very serious air indeed, but he says serious things in such a way that, if one chooses, one can easily take them for a joke.

. . . Is he a Spaniard or a Frenchman? Of course he is a Spaniard, by his looks and his character, the cruelty of his realism, his passion, his profound and dangerous irony. The Civil War in Spain had a tremendous effect on him; it may be that *Guernica* will remain the most significant painting of our time. At Picasso's studio in the rue Saint-Augustin I have always met Spanish refugees. He never refuses a Spaniard anything. All this is true, but one must remember something else as well. Why has he voluntarily spent his whole life in France? Why has he always, *and* to this day, looked upon Cézanne as great? Why were his best friends three French poets: Guillaume Apollinaire, Max Jacob and Paul Eluard? No, you cannot divorce Picasso from France.

. . . Carried away by a man's unexpected actions, biographers often tend to forget his essential character. The same thing happens with those who do research into the works of poets and painters: Mayakovsky's Futurist period, Blok's Nekrasov period, Manet's Spanish period, Cézanne's Impressionist period. In the same way people try to dissect Picasso's work. One might think that nothing could be easier: every two or three years he has astounded, and still astounds, the critics with new pictorial discoveries. The experts distinguish many periods: the blue, the pink, the Negro period, the Cubist period, the Ingres period, the classical period and so forth. The trouble is that Picasso has a way of suddenly defying all classifications. After visiting Picasso's studio in 1922, Mayakovsky reassured his friends: the rumors were false, Picasso had not gone back to classicism. The young Mayakovsky was surprised, however, not to find any period whatever in Picasso's work. "His studio is full of the most widely varying things, starting with a highly realistic scene in pale blue and pink, altogether in the antique style, and ending with a construction of tin and wire. Look at his illustrations: this little girl is right out of Serov. A crudely realistic portrait of a woman and an old, disintegrated violin. And all these things bear the same date." Mayakovsky thought that a poet writing poems in the shape of a ladder could not at the same time feel enthusiasm for sonnets. But Picasso is indifferent to all aesthetic concepts. I have never met a man who changes so quickly and is yet so constant, so true to himself. When I visited him the last time, at Cannes in 1958, I repeatedly caught myself thinking: what witchcraft is this? The whole world has changed out of recognition, and here's Picasso still exactly as he was 45 years ago. But, as I thought this, I also knew that no one had progressed more rapidly than he.

That is why it is so difficult to speak of Picasso: whatever one says is both true and false. The form of words by which witnesses are sworn in a court of law is similar in all countries. They are told to speak "nothing but the truth" and also – sometimes this is an impossible task – "the whole truth." Of course, if the question is simply whether the accused has or has not committed the crime in question, it is difficult for the witness to tell the whole truth. But when the prosecution or the defense tries to establish why the accused came to be on trial, they are asking too much of the witness: after all, he is not a Shakespeare, a Stendhal, or a Tolstoi. Some authors

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Mr. Ehrenburg's *essay is excerpted from his book,* People and Life, *which will be published on November 5 by Alfred A. Knopf. The translation is by Anna Bostock and Yvonne Kapp.*

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have said that Picasso's life and work are full of contradictions. That is an evasion. If you write a guidebook on Holland, you can easily describe the climate and landscape of that country: flat, green fields, canals, cool summers with frequent rain, mild winters. But if you are asked about the climate and the landscape of the Soviet Union you cannot answer in a few sentences. . . . There are such things as big countries. There is also such a thing as a big man. To those who are accustomed to a normal scale, complexity always appears to be full of contradictions.

As soon as I met Picasso I realized, or rather, sensed at once, that I was in the presence of a great man. It was shortly before the beginning of the war, in the early spring of 1914. I was at the Rotonde with Max Jacob; Picasso came in and sat down at our table. Max Jacob began telling him about me. Picasso was silent; then he said that he liked poets and liked Russians. I could not tell whether he was speaking seriously or whether his words were an ironic formula of politeness. . . . That spring there was an auction of pictures by new artists, and a large Picasso canvas was sold for an enormous sum: if memory does not betray me, ten thousand francs. Picasso was becoming known.

Long before then, a few art lovers, including the Moscow collector Shchukin, had "discovered" Picasso. Picasso and Matisse have both told me how Shchukin, on entering a studio, immediately picked out the best works. Matisse tried to palm off his less successful pictures, saying of those he did not want to part with: "This one hasn't come off . . . it's a daub." The trick always failed and Shchukin would finally buy the daub that hadn't come off. He would soon be followed at the studio by Morozov, who trusted his rival's taste but preferred to leave the choice of picture to the painters themselves. Thanks to the collections of these two Muscovites, the Hermitage and the Pushkin Museum possess extraordinary collections of French art of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. There were admirers of Picasso in other countries as well. In 1950 the Czech poet Nezval took me to a suburb of Prague where Kramar was living, by then retired and an old man. At Kramar's house I saw some superb Picassos from the early Cubist period. Kramar told me that as a young man he had come to Paris with a limited amount of money to see Picasso. Picasso at that time was relatively unknown and sold him ten pictures for a small sum. Kramar had the greatest admiration for the young artist. When he bought a still-life with apples which Picasso had just painted, he asked to be given the apple that had served as the model. He showed me this apple, mummified.

At the beginning of 1915, on a cold winter's day, Picasso took me to his studio which was on the rue Schoelcher, not far from the Rotonde. Its windows faced the Montparnasse cemetery. Paris cemeteries lack the poetic quality of Russian and English churchyards; they are abstract towns with straight roads, tombs and gravestones. In the studio there wasn't room to stand in. Finished canvases, pieces of cardboard, tin plate, wire, and wood lay scattered all over the place. One corner was piled high with tubes of paint. I had never seen so many tubes, not even at an art-supply store. Picasso explained that in the past he had often lacked money for paints. After selling a few canvases a short time before, he had decided to stock up "for the rest of my life." I saw painting on the walls, on the seat of a broken stool, on cigar-boxes; Picasso confessed that there were times when he could not bear a blank surface. He worked in a sort of unimaginable frenzy. With other artists, months of creative work alternate with blank periods when the poet or painter, in Pushkin's words, "tastes cool sleep." But Picasso has spent all his life working, and still continues to work, with the same fury. The eccentricities so dear to reporters and photographers are not Picasso's life but only moments of relaxation.

I asked him why he kept the tin plate. He said he wanted to use it, but did not yet know how. I think there is no material in which he has not worked.

He Needs Help

Peter was sent to live with relatives last year because his family was unable to provide for him. But his parents could not bear the separation and now Peter is back home. The 6-year-old Greek boy faces winter without the clothes he needs. But Peter never complains. He knows that his parents cannot afford to buy him any clothing.

Peter's father is a good fisherman but has no boat. He works seasonally as a day laborer. His mother hires out as a field hand. Their combined earnings are $17 a month. Peter's parents endure many supperless nights in order to give Peter and his three brothers a little more to eat.

XPEIAZETAI BOHΘEIA*

If you gave Peter and his family food, they would be able to eat for a week, perhaps a month, and then be hungry again and in need of more help. But if you helped Peter and his family buy a small boat, the family would soon have food to eat and income from the sale of the fish with which to buy clothing and other necessities.

Your contribution through the Federation can provide this deserving family, or one like it in Korea, Lebanon or France, with a grant or loan to carry out a self-help plan that will assist them to become self-supporting. Your contribution will also enable a field counselor to help this family, and others in the same village, to plan and work together on projects that will raise their standard of living.

You will receive a photograph and history of the child and family you are helping plus correspondence and progress reports. Give a child help and hope on a meaningful and long-lasting basis. Give yourself the greatest gift of all —a child's love!

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Enclosed is my first payment: $12.50 a month ☐ $37.50 a quarter ☐ $75 semi-annually ☐ $150 annually ☐

I cannot sponsor a child and family; enclosed is contribution of $_____.

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All his life he has learned new things: he loves skill. At forty he learned from Julio González, a Spanish artisan, how to work sheet iron; at sixty he learned the lithographer's art; at seventy he became a potter.

In the studio there were pieces of Negro sculpture and a large painting by the Douanier Rousseau, the amateur painter whose works today grace the walls of museums all over the world. The painting represented a peace conference. Picasso explained to me that Negro sculptors altered the proportions of the head, the body and the arms not because they could not see straight, or because they did not know how to sculpt. They had a different conception of proportion, just as Japanese artists had a different conception of perspective. "Do you think the Douanier Rousseau had never looked at classical art? He often went to the Louvre. But he wanted to work in a different way." Picasso was the first to realize that our epoch demands directness, immediacy, and power.

He was then 34, but he looked younger and had very lively, piercing, incredibly dark eyes, black hair and small, almost feminine hands. Often, sitting in the Rotonde, he would be gloomy and say almost nothing; sometimes, in an access of gaiety, he would joke and tease his friends. He exuded unrest, and this had a reassuring effect on me: watching him I understand that what was happening to me was not a special phenomenon, not a private disease, but one characteristic of the age. . . .

. . . Once I did not see Picasso for as long as eight or ten years, but at the end of that time it was never a stranger, a changed man whom I met. (That is why I cannot remember precisely when he told me this or that particular thing – it might have been in 1914 or in 1954.) I remember various studios: in a smart bourgeois apartment in the rue de la Boëtie, where he stayed as a chance visitor, almost as a burglar; a very old house in the rue Saint-Augustin where the studio was huge, with Spaniards, pigeons, enormous canvases, and that systematic and organized disorder which Picasso engenders everywhere; the sheds in Vallauris, scraps of iron, clay, drawings, glass balls, bits of posters, cast-iron pillars, and the little hut where he slept, his bed buried under newspapers, letters and photographs; the large bright house called *Californie* at Cannes where there were children, dogs and again piles of letters, telegrams, vast canvases, and in the garden Picasso's bronze goat.

. . . He has often said to me that it made him laugh to read that he was "seeking new forms." "I seek only one thing: to express that which I want to express. I do not seek new forms, I find them." Once he told me that when he starts to work he sometimes does not know whether the painting will be a Cubist or extremely realistic: this is dictated both by the model and by the artist's frame of mind.

A beautiful young American posed for Picasso at Vallauris. He did dozens of drawings of her and painted several portraits in oils. In the first portrait, the American looks as she appeared to other people round her; no champion of realism in the narrowest sense of the

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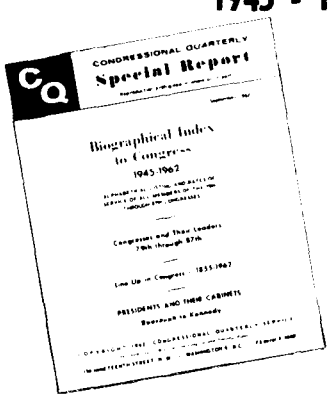

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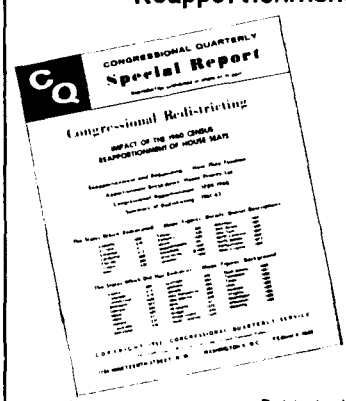

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word could find any fault with this picture. Gradually Picasso began to break up her face. More of the model than her angelic features revealed itself to him; he found characteristics which disclosed her personality and began to study them. "Why, this is a Cubist pig," was a witticism I heard from a gallery visitor gazing at tenth portrait of the American woman, completely unaware that the first portrait of the "Cubist pig" was the beautiful picture he had so enthusiastically admired.

In 1948 we were both in Warsaw after the Wroclaw congress. Picasso made a pencil drawing of me; I sat for him in a room at the old Bristol Hotel. When he had finished I asked "What, already?" Picasso laughed: "But I've known you for forty years." The drawing seems to me not only very like myself (or rather, I am like the drawing) but also profoundly true in its psychology. All Picasso's portraits reveal, and sometimes expose, the inner world of the sitter. A very long time ago, when I told Picasso how much I loved the Impressionists, he said: "They set out to show the world as they saw it. That does not interest me. I want to show the world as I think it."

Of course, many of Picasso's works are difficult to understand: complexity of thoughts and feelings, unusual forms. I had to act as interpreter at Picasso's first meeting with Alexander Fadeyev [the Soviet novelist] at Wroclaw.

FADEYEV: I can't understand some of your works; I'd rather tell you so straight out. Why do you sometimes choose a form which people can't understand?

PICASSO: Tell me, comrade Fadeyev, did they teach you reading at school?

FADEYEV: Of course.

PICASSO: How did they teach you?

FADEYEV: (with his high, piercing laugh). C-a-t, cat.

PICASSO: That's how they taught me, too. C-a-t, cat. Very well, and did they teach you how to understand art?

Fadeyev laughed again and changed the topic.

If one considers Picasso's work as a whole, it becomes clear that he changed the nature of art. After the Impressionists, people began to see nature afresh, not through the spectacles of the Bolognese school. Artists painted only from life: portraits, landscapes, still-lifes. Compositions became the monopoly of academic artists. What painters feared above all was subject painting, "literary stuff," as they called it. I suppose the last composition painted by a great artist in France was Courbet's *L'enterrement à Ornans;* the date of this work is 1850. In 1937, almost a hundred years later, Picasso painted *Guernica.*

Arriving in Paris from Madrid I went at once to the Spanish pavilion at the World Fair and was dumbfounded: I saw *Guernica.* I have seen it twice since – at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1946 and at the Picasso retrospective exhibition at the Louvre in 1956 – and on both occasions I felt the same excitement. How is it that Picasso was able to see ahead? After all, the Spanish Civil War was waged in the old way. True, it served as an exercise for the *Luftwaffe* but the raid on Guernica was only a minor operation, a try-out. Then came the Second World War. Then came Hiroshima. Picasso's painting is the horror of what was still to come: a host of Guernicas, the atomic catastrophe. What we see are the fragments of a shattered world, madness, hatred, despair and non-being. . . .

Picasso's strength lies in the fact that he can express the most profound thought, the most complex feeling in the language of art. Even as an adolescent he painted like an old master. His lines convey whatever he wants them to convey, they are under his control. He is dedicated to art, and he can grow furious or bitterly unhappy if he does not immediately find exactly color he needs.

There was a time when painting, like colored photography, was cultivated in our country. I remember a funny conversation which took place at that time between Picasso and a young Leningrad painter:

PICASSO: Do they sell paints here?

PAINTER: Of course, any amount.

PICASSO: In what form?

PAINTER: (bewildered) In tubes.

PICASSO What does it say on the tubes?

PAINTER: (still more bewildered). Why, the color of the paint: ochre, burnt siena, ultramarine, blue, chrome yellow.

PICASSO: You ought to rationalize the production of paint. At your factories they should manufacture mixed colors and label the tubes "for the face," "for hair," "for military uniforms." That would be much more practical. . . .

He knew that his pictures adorn many American museums, and he knew, too, that when he wanted to go to the United States with a World Peace Council delegation he was refused a visa. But he also knew something else: in the country he loved and believed in there was a negative attitude to his work for a long time. When we met once he said, laughing: "You and I are in trouble again." Shortly before that I had written an article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta,* not, of course, on art but on the struggle for peace (this was in 1949). In it I said that the best minds in the West were with us, and mentioned Picasso among others. The editorial board printed a footnote expressing regret that I had failed to criticize the formalist elements in Picasso's work. Naturally the anti-Soviet press in France quoted, not my article, but the footnote. Pablo only laughed, saying that it was not worth while getting upset: Rome wasn't built in a day.

Adv. *Adv.*

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Seeds of Self-Destruction

by Hilary Corke

"Her mastery of the novelist's craft," says *The New York Times* quotation on the back wrapper "is complete." Why does this bring that little sinking of the heart? Well, was Dickens' mastery of the novelist's craft complete? It was not. Was, say, Faulkner's? No. Dostoevsky's? No, no. How about Emily Bronte's? Alas, poor girl. Well, how about Nancy Mitford's, Mary McCarthy's, Elizabeth Hardwick's? Oh, yes, theirs is complete all right, I dare say. Peacock, Evelyn Waugh, Ivy Compton Burnett? A rather despairing silence. They have mastery all right, Lord knows. But is it of "the craft of the novel"? Hardly. They have mastered something purely of their own, personal, unmistakable, certainly not "the novel" – whatever sort of a gray amorphous generalization that may be.

An Error of Judgment
by Pamela Hansford Johnson
(Harcourt, Brace & World; $4.50)

These questions are unfairly argued, of course. Jane Austen was a master in the sense of the reviewer of *The New York Times*. So was Flaubert, so was Henry James. All the same, there is more than a little justification for one's sense of unease. There is a sort of novel that we all know, and some of us dislike, in which everything is managed and slick and fashionably sensitive and conventionally subtle and ever so sophisticated and unexceptionally "well" written, and yet leaves a faint taste in the mouth that is half boredom, half nausea. And such novels more often than not seem to be written by women, who either are much cleverer at getting themselves neatly organized than men, or else they have much less to organize. If one says that Henry James was just about the greatest lady novelist who ever lived, that rings some sort of bell, and this is the bell I mean.

However, for Miss Hansford Johnson it is unfairly tolled. She has a neat mind and a neat hand, indeed, but her characters won't lie down or play the puppet game. Underneath the cleanliness and order, something is alive. The central character of *An Error of Judgment* is William Setter, a rising and already fashionable London doctor. Heavy, powerful, original and gifted with some authority of presence that seems to make his patients feel better even before he has begun to prescribe, he at first reminds one strongly of Sir Henry Harcourt-Reilly of *The Cocktail Party*. The wonder physician, one of the new lay saints for an age that has outgrown religion. But this solid figure already carries within it the seeds of its collapse.

He is a pure rationalist, but no Calvinist determinist could be more ardently convinced of his own damnation. No after-life, but damnation – an ingenious method of getting the worst of both worlds. His intentions, both on general and on personal planes of moral endeavor, could not be bettered; he is almost exaggeratedly moral. But he feels, built-in within himself, a power of cruelty, a desire to hurt, that he can never remove. He can no more get rid of it than he could of "a club foot or a wall eye." All the conscious efforts of the moral man are directed toward seeing that the immoral subconscious never gets a chance to operate. For this reason he finds himself obliged to give up surgery: although he wounds to heal, he recognizes that he delights to wound. In such ways the field of his activities becomes ever narrowed. In the end he abandons medical practice altogether – "I tell you, my aim is to do *nothing*. Ergo, nothing wrong. Nothing right, either."

He loses his wife. The prosperous, commanding physician becomes a scruffy wanderer, and eventually simply disappears. A man quite knowingly self-destroyed. But it is the principal measure of Miss Hansford Johnson's success that he becomes larger in the process, not smaller. The puppet begins to pull the strings himself, jerking the puppeteer's hands. And perhaps this is always so in the case of the novels we really enjoy reading: there grows an exhilarating sense that the matter is getting a little out of hand – not enough to disrupt the book's economy, but

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enough to mercifully assure that some of the surprises surprised the author before they surprised the reader.

This is evidently not the subject of a "lady-novelist"; in the narrowing and unkind sense of the phrase. There is in fact a constant and fruitful tension between the controlled easy style and the awkward untameable content. One pulls one way, and one the other – a source of strength, not weakness; you fell bigger trees more quickly if you get two men at either end of a saw. This end is greatly helped by a clever use of the device of author-narrator. Victor Hendrey, who tells the story, is the sort of man who thinks and acts in the precise, elegant but in the last event inadequate manner that the style, his style, suggests. The things that he lives through and has to describe – Setter's dark and sometimes fatal relationships with Victor's wife, with his own wife, with a repulsive adolescent undetected murderer in whom, with his usual best intentions, he interests himself – all these things that Victor *knows* about but cannot fully understand. He has the head but not the depth of heart. The light surface conceals profounder pools than one might suppose.

At the same time the surface *is* light and it is attractively intelligent and easy to read. It is full of observant perceptions:

> "If you look into the eyes of the very clever, I think you will find that they are pretty pebbly: certainty breeds opacity as well it might. . . . But if you look into the eyes of the medium-clever, the hopefully-clever, the aspiring, then you will see clear waters in which all sorts of organisms may breed, all sorts of tiddlers become apparent, ripe for the jam-jar."

It is also naturally a perfectly self-conscious affair. Here is the author-narrator on the *art* (a very different matter from the craft) of the novel:

> "People can go on for much longer than we think, some people until they die. That is where some novelists go wrong. *Pauvres petits*, they believe there is always an answer, always a resolution. The majority of novels, it seems to me, end on a protracted *coda*, bang, bang, bang, Umpah, umpah, umpah, umpah:
>
> "Bang –
>
> "BANG!!
>
> "In fact, in a marriage, a murder, a suicide, a triumph, a disaster. The majority of lives, however, fade gently away without a noticeable peroration or a final curtain. With the excitements wrung out of them, they just go on and on and on."

Her sense of that disparity, between "novels" and "life," indicates Miss Hansford Johnson's principal literary problem, and perhaps at the same time her principal limitation. Carried too far, it can end in that fatal state of mind which feels that novels ought not ever to be more *interesting* than life, for that will impair their authenticity. Needless to say, the author is not yet arrived at that Gobi. All the same there is a certain deliberate avoidance of striking shapes and bright colors, a sort of fastidious negativeness, which in the long run makes the substance a little shadowy and thin. One thinks of Muriel Spark, who has made this territory very much her own: the surface is as demure and pleasing but she makes her depths very much icier than Miss Hansford Johnson's and equips their monsters with much more jagged teeth.

However, to say that an author could be more disturbing is not necessarily to impute a sin. It is quite certain, at any rate, that the would-be complimentary quotation does her very much less than justice. So, for that matter, does the blurb, which appears to describe some other novel altogether – or perhaps (heaven forbid) the movie.

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MOVIES

What Connection?

As of this writing the film of *The Connection* is in abeyance, closed by court order after two showings in New York, but the battle to release it here looks promising. (It has already been shown abroad.) The controversy is over the use of the word "shit" which recurs in the drug addict's sense – a synonym for heroin. No reader of contemporary novels (including many of the finest),

The Connection
(Allen and Clarke)

no viewer of French films whose vocabulary goes as far as *merde*, no visitor to the off-Broadway theater, is likely to be offended by the word. Indeed, Wentworth's and Flexner's *Dictionary of American Slang* says that the general loosening of moral restrictions and taboos has encouraged its use "among all strata of the population."

Films must be more strict, presumably, because more minors go to films than plays. So the censors are safeguarding minors from that word. Haven't they any idea at all of what young people know? Don't they think adolescents read paperback novels, hear the vulgate, are alive? As always, the biggest difficulty in the fight against censorship is the struggle to keep from doubling up with laughter the whole time.

Jack Gelber's play, as most of us are aware by now, takes place in a loft room where eight addicts – white and Negro – are waiting for their "connection" (drug procurer) to arrive with their shots. Four of the eight are jazz musicians who play from time to time, and the jazz does much more than is generally recognized to provide an organic free-form feeling, to create mood, and, in a sense, to advance the play. The connection, Cowboy, arrives with a street salvationist – an old woman – whom he has brought along to divert the police. He gives them their shots; the old woman, the musicians, and one other leave. The rest tend a man who has insisted on taking too much. The torpor with which the drama opened returns as the play ends.

Like collage and assemblage in the graphic arts, like the use of typewriters and radios in music, *The Connection* attempts to blur the dividing line between life and art. The devices to accomplish this quickly wear thin because, when we go to a play, we are more interested in seeing a play than in having it proved that it is not a play. Shirley Clarke, who directed the film, had a more difficult problem. One cannot pretend even briefly that what we see on the screen is happening *now;* it must have happened in the past and been photographed. She and Gelber have tried to overcome this obstacle by transmuting the choric commentator and photographer of the play into a film director and cameraman making a documentary – which is the film we see. The director and cameraman are present throughout, as is the consciousness of making the film; the director is persuaded eventually to sample heroin.

This elaboration of the pretense of "real" reality as against artistic reality involves a series of artifices that make the wildest fantasy seem like *verismo* by comparison. It is almost like striking a child to point out the holes in this pretense: that the sound recording, the editing, the lighting, and so on, are all studio products. The fakery of this "real" reality reaches its high point when, near the end, the camera moves slowly over the walls of the squalid room, showing cracks and dirt – all this as if it were reportage when in fact this "documentary" is documenting a designer's movie set. The climax of the sequence is a close-up of a cockroach crawling up the wall. How carefully that roach must have been nurtured by a prop man and released at just the right moment.

The body of the film, which is simply the play as adapted by Gelber, has two main aspects: it is an exercise in naturalism and it is a blow at our society, not through the Theater of the Absurd but the Theater of Revolt. Naturalism arose in the last century because artists insisted on following inner truths to

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their complete outward manifestations and felt conversely that to limit the reproduction of surface details was to cramp inner truth. Like all liberators, these men also liberated pests. One of the pests is the writer who is capable of little more than the reproduction of surfaces; such, in this play, is Gelber. The good naturalist treats even the most sordid details as symbols – manifestations of the life beneath the surface. Gelber thinks his work is largely done when he has assembled the surface details – the taboo language, the bursting boil, the vomit, the nose-picking. If this really is the nature of truth and if none of it must be withheld, why do he and Miss Clarke chicken out of taking us into the toilet which these characters visit?

If the Kodak made every man a Steichen, then facile naturalistic method would make every compassionate and enraged writer a Zola or Dos Passos or Dreiser. But Gelber's gift for dialogue wavers; sometimes pungent, it sometimes sounds like a clumsy translation. His characters are for the most part predictable both in who they are and what they tell us about themselves: the simplistic, good-hearted Negro; the well-read philosopher (Jewish, naturally) who has *rapport* with the ignorant Negro; the one rat whom all the others can hate. The sole interesting character, the owner of the apartment – named Leach! – is described as a queer who doesn't dare to be queer, but the implications of this are not clearly dramatized. And in a dismal bankruptcy declaration, Gelber uses a black-mirror image of a George Abbott running gag: a silent little man who wanders in occasionally with a portable electric phonograph, plugs it in, listens to jazz, unplugs it and leaves.

But even if Gelber had the talent to serve his purposes, what is the substance of his revolt? No reason whatsoever is given – in this naturalistic play – as to why any of these men became addicts, no antecedents or defeats are noted. A fuzzy general pathos is adumbrated once in a while ("We're all hungry for a little hope"). There is some religious satire with the salvationist, which is dull. We anticipate a reference to the Bomb, and, near the end, we get it: a mention of "those Japanese cats." *Because* this is a mixed white and Negro group, *because* they are miserable, *because* they are waiting for someone or something to relieve their misery, we must – Gelber implies – accept them as a microcosm of our society, with its central dilemmas and delusions and hunger for delusions.

Gelber trades on assumptions. Just as the lesser proletarian writers of the thirties relied on sympathy for the working class to gloss over their deficiencies, so a Revolt writer today can rely on an audience to fill in his omissions. He has only to show a group of pointless drifters, and all of us – panting for a chance to unlimber our *Weltschmerz* and hopelessness – will at once nod and murmur, "Of course. The world today." It is something like that famous convention of gag-writers who need only refer to jokes by catalogue number ("221!" "935!") to put one another in stitches. Gelber gives us the skimpiest cues, and we are meant to leap into Kierkegaardian despair.

Beckett's tramps, while waiting for Godot, wormed their way into the utter sickness at heart that even the happiest of us have sometimes felt. Camus' *Caligula* is a series of stunning metaphors of the evil that pursues us until we pursue it. Genet's *Blacks* are retributors for our history who – we see – will be just as rotten as we were once they get the chance. Compared with

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these visions of hell, Gelber's play is just a sophomore's disillusion.

The film finishes with the director addressing his cameraman: "It's all over. It's all yours now." He is looking into the camera and is (ah!) really addressing us. *What* is all ours now? What we knew before, we know now. Gelber's assumption that he has brought something home to us is a kind of impertinence.

With the exception of Carl Lee as Cowboy, the cast is generally satisfactory in the scratch-and-mumble vein. The most vivid is Warren Finnerty, who makes Leach resemble a decayed Richard Widmark. Jerome Raphel, the sage Solly, is like dozens of men whom I have fled in Washington Square Park when they wanted to discuss Big Problems.

Arthur J. Ornitz shows again his fine control of realistic photography. Miss Clarke's direction tries earnestly to be imaginative and probing.

Stanley Kauffmann

Correspondence

California's Fourth R

Sirs:

I was pleased to see your October 8 note *California's Fourth R.* You describe with refreshing candor Dr. Max Rafferty as a "Birch bark" candidate for the post of state superintendent of public instruction. However, I was distressed to see you say his opponent, the capable and moderate reformer Ralph Richardson will "probably win." It is just this complacent assumption which could put Rafferty into office.

Rafferty's stock has gone up alarmingly. Right after the primary, Richardson polled 35 percent in an opinion sampling by Field Research, with Rafferty getting 24 percent and 41 percent undecided. Last week it was Richardson 28 percent, Rafferty 27 percent, with 45 percent undecided. Overwhelming endorsement by responsible educators could be of no avail if Richardson is snowed under by billboards and ballyhoo.

James High
Santa Barbara, Calif.

I must take exception to your comments ("California's Fourth R," Oct. 8) on Dr. Ralph Richardson, who is running for State Superintendent of Public Instruction in California. As a teacher in Los Angeles, I disagree that as a member of the Los Angeles school board, Dr. Richardson has "a fine record." If he has contributed even one truly impressive idea to the city schools, I am unaware of it. He seems uninterested in trimming the incredible surplus of administrators or seeing that Negro teachers are integrated into every faculty. He refuses to oppose the teachers' secret files, wherein any administrator may place a damaging statement which may affect the job status of the teacher but which the teacher cannot fight against. . . .

The Richardson campaign for State Superintendent is amazingly full of platitudes. His endorsement of team teaching is a main part of his platform, but this is just another method, not necessarily any better or worse than any other method of instruction. Lately, he has said that students cannot write and should therefore do a composition a week; this idea reflects quantity, not quality, and since I am an English teacher, I can say without qualification that no teacher can carry such a heavy load of papers.

Dr. Rafferty, Richardson's opponent, is indeed a Bircher and is a frightening personality in many ways. But to think of Dr. Richardson as a leader is indeed naïve; he is part of a long tradition in California of good-hearted, docile, unimaginative persons who have been caretakers of the school system. To think that he could or would turn the California school system into an educational system is to make a bold prediction.

Harry R. Major
Los Angeles, California

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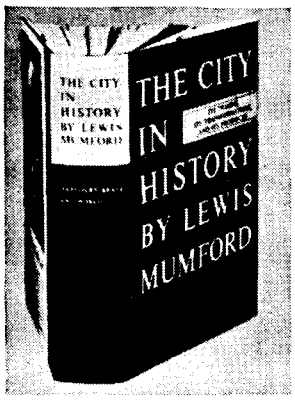

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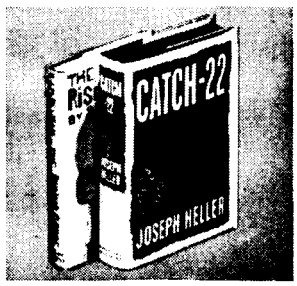

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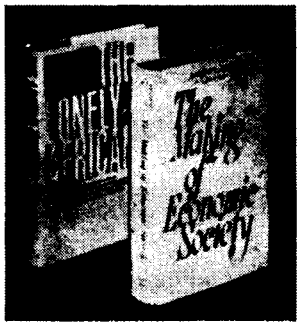

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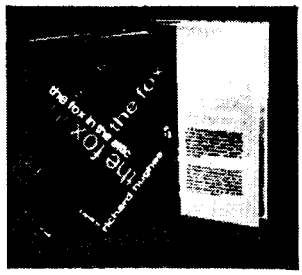

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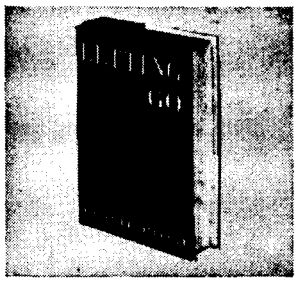

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